EXHIBIT N

JUSTICE NEWS

Attorney General Sessions Delivers Remarks on DACA

Washington, DC ~ Tuesday, September 5, 2017

Remarks as prepared for delivery

Good morning. I am here today to announce that the program known as DACA that was effectuated under the Obama Administration is being rescinded.

The DACA program was implemented in 2012 and essentially provided a legal status for recipients for a renewable twoyear term, work authorization and other benefits, including participation in the social security program, to 800,000 mostly-adult illegal aliens.

This policy was implemented unilaterally to great controversy and legal concern after Congress rejected legislative proposals to extend similar benefits on numerous occasions to this same group of illegal aliens.

In other words, the executive branch, through DACA, deliberately sought to achieve what the legislative branch specifically refused to authorize on multiple occasions. Such an open-ended circumvention of immigration laws was an unconstitutional exercise of authority by the Executive Branch.

The effect of this unilateral executive amnesty, among other things, contributed to a surge of unaccompanied minors on the southern border that yielded terrible humanitarian consequences. It also denied jobs to hundreds of thousands of Americans by allowing those same jobs to go to illegal aliens.

We inherited from our Founders—and have advanced—an unsurpassed legal heritage, which is the foundation of our freedom, safety, and prosperity.

As the Attorney General, it is my duty to ensure that the laws of the United States are enforced and that the Constitutional order is upheld.

No greater good can be done for the overall health and well-being of our Republic, than preserving and strengthening the impartial rule of law. Societies where the rule of law is treasured are societies that tend to flourish and succeed.

Societies where the rule of law is subject to political whims and personal biases tend to become societies afflicted by corruption, poverty, and human suffering.

To have a lawful system of immigration that serves the national interest, we cannot admit everyone who would like to come here. That is an open border policy and the American people have rightly rejected it.

Therefore, the nation must set and enforce a limit on how many immigrants we admit each year and that means all can not be accepted.

This does not mean they are bad people or that our nation disrespects or demeans them in any way. It means we are properly enforcing our laws as Congress has passed them.

It is with these principles and duties in mind, and in light of imminent litigation, that we reviewed the Obama Administration's DACA policy.

Our collective wisdom is that the policy is vulnerable to the same legal and constitutional challenges that the courts recognized with respect to the DAPA program, which was enjoined on a nationwide basis in a decision affirmed by the

The Fifth Circuit specifically concluded that DACA had not been implemented in a fashion that allowed sufficient discretion, and that DAPA was "foreclosed by Congress's careful plan."

In other words, it was inconsistent with the Constitution's separation of powers. That decision was affirmed by the Supreme Court by an equally divided vote.

If we were to keep the Obama Administration's executive amnesty policy, the likeliest outcome is that it would be enjoined just as was DAPA. The Department of Justice has advised the President and the Department of Homeland Security that DHS should begin an orderly, lawful wind down, including the cancellation of the memo that authorized this program.

Acting Secretary Duke has chosen, appropriately, to initiate a wind down process. This will enable DHS to conduct an orderly change and fulfill the desire of this administration to create a time period for Congress to act—should it so choose. We firmly believe this is the responsible path.

Simply put, if we are to further our goal of strengthening the constitutional order and the rule of law in America, the Department of Justice cannot defend this type of overreach.

George Washington University Law School Professor Jonathan Turley in testimony before the House Judiciary Committee was clear about the enormous constitutional infirmities raised by these policies.

He said: "In ordering this blanket exception, President Obama was nullifying part of a law that he simply disagreed with.If a president can claim sweeping discretion to suspend key federal laws, the entire legislative process becomes little more than a pretense...The circumvention of the legislative process not only undermines the authority of this branch but destabilizes the tripartite system as a whole."

Ending the previous Administration's disrespect for the legislative process is an important first step. All immigration policies should serve the interests of the people of the United States—lawful immigrant and native born alike.

Congress should carefully and thoughtfully pursue the types of reforms that are right for the American people. Our nation is comprised of good and decent people who want their government's leaders to fulfill their promises and advance an immigration policy that serves the national interest.

We are a people of compassion and we are a people of law. But there is nothing compassionate about the failure to enforce immigration laws.

Enforcing the law saves lives, protects communities and taxpayers, and prevents human suffering. Failure to enforce the laws in the past has put our nation at risk of crime, violence and even terrorism.

The compassionate thing is to end the lawlessness, enforce our laws, and, if Congress chooses to make changes to those laws, to do so through the process set forth by our Founders in a way that advances the interest of the nation.

That is what the President has promised to do and has delivered to the American people.

Under President Trump's leadership, this administration has made great progress in the last few months toward establishing a lawful and constitutional immigration system. This makes us safer and more secure.

It will further economically the lives of millions who are struggling. And it will enable our country to more effectively teach new immigrants about our system of government and assimilate them to the cultural understandings that support it.

The substantial progress in reducing illegal immigration at our border seen in recent months is almost entirely the product of the leadership of President Trump and his inspired federal immigration officers. But the problem is not solved. And without more action, we could see illegality rise again rather than be eliminated.

As a candidate, and now in office, President Trump has offered specific ideas and legislative solutions that will protect American workers, increase wages and salaries, defend our national security, ensure the public safety, and increase

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He has worked closely with many members of Congress, including in the introduction of the RAISE Act, which would produce enormous benefits for our country. This is how our democratic process works.

There are many powerful interest groups in this country and every one of them has a constitutional right to advocate their views and represent whomever they choose.

But the Department of Justice does not represent any narrow interest or any subset of the American people. We represent all of the American people and protect the integrity of our Constitution. That is our charge.

We at Department of Justice are proud and honored to work to advance this vision for America and to do our best each day to ensure the safety and security of the American people.

Thank you.

Speaker:

Attorney General Jeff Sessions

Attachment(s):

Download ag letter re daca.pdf

Topic(s):

Immigration

Component(s):

Office of the Attorney General

Updated September 5, 2017

EXHIBIT O Supporting Declaration of Karen C. Tumlin



Thousands eligible for DACA renewals falled to apply in time

By JILL COLVIN Oct. 19, 2017



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WASHINGTON (AP) — About 21,000-22,000 young immigrants, many brought to the country illegally as children, did not submit their status renewal applications in time.

That's according to preliminary numbers released Thursday by the Department of Homeland Security.

President Donald Trump last month announced an end to the Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals, or DACA program, which protected hundreds of thousands of young people from deportation.

But he said those whose authorizations were set to expire within six months could apply for renewals — so long as they did so by Oct. 5.

DHS spokesman David Lapan says roughly 133,000 of the 154,000 people eligible for renewals submitted their paperwork by the deadline.

Advocates complain DHS didn't do enough outreach. Lapan says he'd be "hard-pressed" to think recipients weren't aware of the change.

EXHIBIT P Supporting Declaration of Karen C. Tumlin

The New Hork Times https://nyti.ms/2hpeGf5

N.Y. / REGION

Post Office Fails to Deliver on Time, and DACA Applications Get Rejected

Dozens of young immigrants mailed renewal forms weeks before they were due. But their paperwork was delayed in the mail and then denied for being late.

Leer en español

By LIZ ROBBINS NOV. 10, 2017

The paperwork was mailed from New York in plenty of time. On Sept. 14, Allison Baker, a lawyer for the Legal Aid Society, sent a client's application to renew a permit that would let him stay and work in the United States legally as part of the Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals program — long before the Oct. 5 deadline. It was sent certified mail to be safe.

Tracking data from the United States Postal Service shows the envelope arriving in Chicago on Sept. 16 on its way to the regional processing warehouse of the United States Citizenship and Immigration Services, the agency that administers the program known as DACA.

Then the packet started circling Chicago in a mysterious holding pattern. From Sept. 17 to Sept. 19, it was "in transit to destination." Then its tracking whereabouts disappeared until Oct. 4. Once again, it was "on its way."

On Oct. 6, a day too late, it was delivered. And the application, for a 24-year-old man who asked to be identified only as José because his legal status was uncertain, was rejected.

José was not alone. According to lawyers from across the New York region, in at least 33 other cases, unusually long Postal Service delays resulted in rejections of DACA applications, throwing the lives of their clients into frantic limbo. Lawyers in Boston and Philadelphia, which also send their applications to the Chicago processing center, say they have not seen evidence of an issue with the mail.

But in Chicago, in the backyard of the U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services agency, there were at least 41 DACA recipients whose renewals, sent well before the deadline, arrived late, advocates said. According to Representative Luis V. Gutiérrez, Democrat of Illinois, an applicant sent a renewal on Sept. 13 and it arrived on Oct. 6. Another sent the paperwork on Sept. 21, and it was received on Oct. 9. "Because somebody else did not do their job correctly we are taking innocent young immigrants and making them deportable," said Mr. Gutiérrez in a statement. "That is unacceptable."

On Thursday, in a rare admission from a federal agency, the U.S. Postal Service took the blame. David A. Partenheimer, a spokesman for the post office, said there had been an "unintentional temporary mail processing delay in the Chicago area."

But the U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services agency said nothing more could be done; the decisions were final.

"According to U.S.C.I.S. regulations, a request is considered received by U.S.C.I.S. as of the actual date of receipt at the location for filing such request," Steve Blando, a spokesman for the agency, wrote in a statement. He added: "U.S.C.I.S. is not responsible for the mail service an individual chooses, or for delays on the part of mail service providers."

He later added, though, that "U.S.C.I.S. is committed to working with the U.S.P.S. to understand and address the U.S.P.S. error that occurred that delayed the mail."

Because DACA is an executive order, signed by President Barack Obama in 2012, and not a statute, applicants cannot appeal the decision. Still, immigrants and their advocates viewed the agency's unwillingness to revisit their applications as harsh and unfair.

"You can't put the burden on the applicant to ensure the government agencies did their job," said Camille Mackler, the director of legal initiatives for the New York Immigration Coalition. "Can you imagine if the I.R.S. didn't pick up their mail for two weeks and you get a penalty because of it?"

The DACA program had offered temporary protection and work permits for about 800,000 young adults who had been brought to the United States illegally as children.

On Sept. 5, Attorney General Jeff Sessions announced after months of speculation that the Trump administration was canceling the program. Recipients were allowed to keep their permits until they expired at the end of the current two-year term. The administration also offered a brief renewal window for recipients whose permits were expiring before March 5, which set off a scramble across the country from legal service providers to assist applicants.

There are three U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services intake locations, known as lockboxes, in the United States: in Phoenix, Chicago and Lewisville, Tex., a suburb of Dallas.

According to the immigration agency, its employees do not pick up the mail from the lockbox. The United States Department of the Treasury manages the process but uses a courier service that picks up the mail from post offices each morning. Express Mail items, the agency said, are picked up in the afternoon. Also, items are delivered to the lockbox by the courier services FedEx, DHL and the United Parcel Service.

In a memo after DACA was rescinded, the Department of Homeland Security said renewals had to be "accepted" by Oct. 5. Immigration lawyers contrasted that with a permanent residency opportunity the government offered in 2001, when applications only had to be postmarked by the deadline of April 30. Acknowledging the high volume of applications, the government offered a grace period for paperwork to be received by May 3.

Immigration lawyers questioned why that was not an option in this case.

Hasan Shafiqullah, director of the immigration unit of the Legal Aid Society in New York, was disturbed by the lack of compassion from the agency.

"From the clients' perspective, they did the right thing," Mr. Shafiqullah said. "Filing three weeks before should be sufficient, and U.S.C.I.S. needs to recognize that and needs to exercise discretion."

According to an Oct. 18 deposition of an immigration official conducted as part of a federal lawsuit in Brooklyn, 4,000 DACA applications arrived late. One hundred and fifty-four thousand people were eligible to apply for renewal and 132,000 applications were received on time.

Tata Camara, 32, who came to the United States at age 15 from Guinea, sent her application on Sept. 29; she said it was the earliest she could afford to apply, since that day she got a donation for the \$495 application fee from the New Economy Project, a New York nonprofit. BronxWorks, a legal services agency, helped her prepare her application.

She had installed two apps on her phone to track her application in the mail, but she became anguished when they showed her envelope had arrived in Chicago on Oct. 1 but seemed to stall there. She called every supervisor she could in the Chicago post office.

"It doesn't make any sense, I mail stuff all the time," Ms. Camara said. "I can understand one day of delay. Two days at most. But you can't even tell me where it is?"

According to the tracking record, her application arrived "at the unit" on Oct. 5, but was not actually delivered until Oct. 6.

She said she made an appointment to discuss the application with an immigration official next week. Five lawyers in New York said they had already received denials from the U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services agency when pleading their case — via email, an 800-number and in person.

Linda Bennett-Rodriguez, a lawyer at the Empire Justice Center in White Plains, said one of her clients sent his application in on Sept. 12. She sent the renewal form for his younger brother on Sept. 21, and it was accepted on Sept. 25.

The older brother's application was in transit for three weeks; it did not arrive at the regional facility in Chicago until Oct. 3. At that point, Ms. Bennett-Rodriguez raced to find a solution.

When it still had not arrived, hours before the deadline, she said that her client offered to fly from La Guardia Airport to Chicago to hand-deliver his application. But she learned there was no physical address listed for where he would go.

The post office tracking information showed his application arrived on Oct. 6.

"It was probably my worst day as an attorney," Ms. Bennett-Rodriguez said. "I knew the importance and I knew we filed with enough time."

Mr. Partenheimer, the post office spokesman, said the processing "issue has been resolved and we are investigating how it occurred." He added that the mail service would "work diligently" with the U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services agency "concerning any potential issues this may cause for the affected individuals."

Correction: November 10, 2017

An earlier version of this article referred incorrectly to a deposition in a federal lawsuit. It was not conducted by the immigration advocacy group Make the Road and did not include the number of applications received on time.

A version of this article appears in print on November 11, 2017, on Page A17 of the New York edition with the headline: Mail Is Late, and DACA Renewals Are Denied.

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The New Hork Times https://nyti.ms/2kdnw0c

N.Y. / REGION

Number of DACA Applications Stuck in the Mail Tops 900

By LIZ ROBBINS NOV. 30, 2017

More than 900 young immigrants applying for a renewal of temporary work permits had their applications rejected because of mail problems, a number far greater than immigration lawyers had thought earlier this month.

The United States Citizenship and Immigration Services acknowledged the significant impact on Thursday, as it released information on how those who had been turned down could submit new applications.

The immigrants were trying to renew their work permits under the program known as Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals, or DACA, which allowed nearly 800,000 immigrants who were brought to the country illegally as children to work and go to school in the United States without fear of deportation.

On Sept. 5, the Trump administration canceled the program, but said those whose permits were expiring before March 5, 2018, could renew their application by Oct. 5 for a two-year period.

Citizenship and Immigration Services said it was in the process of sending

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Once applicants receive that letter, they will have 33 days to resubmit their applications, the immigration agency said.

The agency said that there could be more people affected and that it was working with the United States Postal Service to determine how many applications were delayed by problems there. At least 4,000 renewals were rejected because they were late, according to a government official in an Oct. 18 deposition in a federal lawsuit over the cancellation of DACA.

The information that U.S.C.I.S. released on Thursday still left questions unanswered; the agency said it would soon provide "specific guidance" on the steps DACA recipients must take to resubmit their renewal requests.

What the government did provide, however, was small comfort for some people whose DACA permits have expired or are expiring soon, and lawyers questioned the government's lack of expediency.

The government said those DACA recipients would not be able to work until their permits were officially renewed. But, the agency added, they would not be a priority for deportation.

"We've lost two months now," said Hasan Shafiqullah, director of the immigration unit of the Legal Aid Society in New York. That immediately affected one of his clients, whose DACA permit expires Friday.

"What will U.S.C.I.S. do to mitigate that harm and cost to her?" he asked. "The least they can do is expedite the adjudication of the renewal, so she can get her work permit as fast as possible."

U.S.C.I.S. said that applicants who believed their renewal had been rejected because of mail problems could contact someone in the support department, via email. But that does not appear to promise quicker action.

Mr. Shafiqullah said he emailed the agency on Nov. 8 and, 22 days later, received an email response that began: "Thank you for contacting Lockbox Support and I apologize for the delay in our response to your inquiry."

There are three Citizenship and Immigration Services locations, known as lockboxes, where agency mail is delivered: in Phoenix, Chicago and Lewisville, Tex., a suburb of Dallas. All three were affected by mail problems, according to immigration activists, but Chicago had the most applications delayed.

Three weeks ago, lawyers and lawmakers said they initially knew of 74 people in New York and Chicago whose renewals were delayed by mail problems. The United States Postal Service took the blame, but at the time, the immigration agency remained firm in its policy: It would still reject those applications.

A week later, the agency reversed its policy, allowing people to reapply with proof of a delay. By that point, lawyers and lawmakers had reported 115 cases in Texas, Wisconsin, Washington State, North Carolina and Michigan.

On Thursday, U.S.C.I.S. said that approximately 450 applications had been delayed in the mail in Texas, 390 in Chicago and 60 in Phoenix.

Immigration advocates said the government opened itself to problems by providing a short window for renewal after the Trump administration said it was ending DACA. They gave those eligible to apply for renewals just one month to get their applications in. And departing from typical immigration application guidelines, the DACA renewals had to be received by the immigration agency by the Oct. 5 deadline, not postmarked.

Many applicants sent their applications in three weeks in advance — by certified mail — and were still caught in the mail delays. Lawyers do not intend to take any chances this time. "We're doing FedEx," Mr. Shafiqullah said.

A version of this article appears in print on December 1, 2017, on Page A23 of the New York edition with the headline: Delayed DACA Requests Grow to More Than 900.

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TIME

She's Planning for College. But She'll Miss President Trump's Deadline to Avoid Deportation

By MAYA RHODAN September 22, 2017

Like many high school seniors, Indira Marquez Robles thinks a lot about her future. She knows what college she wants to go to (Bryn Mawr) and what she wants to be when she grows up (an immigration attorney) but she also doesn't know if she'll be at risk for deportation in the next six months.

Marquez Robles is a beneficiary of Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals, or DACA, an Obama-era program that has shielded over 700,000 immigrants brought to the U.S. as children from deportation, allowed them to get work permits and Social Security numbers, travel abroad and obtain a driver's license.

But on Sept. 5, the Trump Administration rescinded that program and gave some DACA recipients, also known as Dreamers, until Oct. 5 to apply to have their documents renewed. In order to reapply, a recipients' work permit and deferral has to expire by March 5, 2018. Marquez Robles missed that cutoff by 16 days.

Because the 17-year-old Houstonian's DACA will expire on March 21, 2018, she doesn't have any option but to wait and see if Congress passes legislation that would grant her some form of legal status. She could still attend college, but without some form of legal protection she will live under fear of being deported by an administration that has made it clear that all undocumented immigrants are at risk.

"Mentally and emotionally, I'm just going through the stages of accepting that there's no like, 'Here's what you can do, you can go renew," the Houston resident told TIME.

For most of her young life, Marquez Robles thought the fact that she was born in Mexico was innocuous. In fact, she thought it made her kind of special.

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[&]quot;While my sisters say that they were born at Ben Taub [Hospital] down near the medical center, I could say that I was born in a beach town in Mexico," she says.

She'd spent nearly her entire life in the U.S., having been brought to the country when she was just six months old, and never once thought of herself as anything other than an American. But when she was 14, eager to travel to France on a school trip, her parents broke the news. Unlike her siblings, she wasn't an American citizen. She would not be able to go.

"I was so committed to learning French. I thought being able apply it in France would have been monumental," she says. "To have that taken away from you ... you just can't even understand."

At the time, Marquez Robles says neither she nor her parents knew about DACA. They had heard about the Dream Act, but the issue of status and immigration was not something they talked about regularly as a family. But on a trip to the Mexican consulate in an effort to secure a passport, Marquez Robles encountered an organizer with United We Dream who told her about how the program could shield her from deportation, allow her to work and have access to other opportunities. At 14, she was too young to apply for DACA, but when the time came a year later, the same person she'd met at the consulate helped her file her application.

She cried when her Social Security card came in the mail, overwhelmed by the doors that had opened for her as a result. A week later when her work permit came, however, her parents hid it from her and had it baked into a celebratory cake — she says a small indent from where her knife struck the card is still visible today. Papers in hand, she says the first thing she did was start looking for jobs to apply for.

"Whenever they asked for my Social Security number, that feeling of having one to give them was really assuring," she says. She also started looking into getting her driver's license and thought about finally being able to take that trip to France. She got more active with United We Dream, attending marches and protests, traveling with the organization on 10 separate occasions.

"The fear dissipated. I knew that there were programs and opportunities for people like me," she says. More than anything, she says, she was looking forward to applying for DACA again: "That first time I got DACA, I thought, the next time I'm able to apply it's going to be even greater."

That time now will never come. DACA is no longer an option for Marquez Robles and many of the over 200,000 other recipients whose documents expire in 2018. According to the Department of Homeland Security, 321,920 people will also lose DACA protections in 2019. In Congress, there is bipartisan support for the legislative solution to DACA, though there are some fissures among lawmakers on both sides of the aisle.

Marquez Robles recognizes that if there is no legislative fix in six months, she could lose her status, but for now, she is staying focused. School and life obligations keep her pretty busy, anyway. The oldest of seven, she's responsible for getting herself and two of her younger sisters to school everyday — about an hour away from their home — and making sure they get home safely.

At school, where she says she has a weighted grade-point-average of 3.7, she juggles three Advanced Placement courses — in Statistics, Biology, and Government—facilitates the TED Ed Club and serves on the junior varsity debate team. To make money to save up for college, she picks up hours at a tea shop. In her free time, she likes to document her life through photography and film and volunteer with the immigrant rights organization, United We Dream.

"I'm not going to let this deter my desire to attend college and apply for scholarships," she says. "If anything it's driving me to apply for more."

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1904 NEW YORKER

AS TOLD TO

A DACA RECIPIENT DESCRIBES THE FEELING OF WATCHING HER LEGAL STATUS EXPIRE

By Jonathan Blitzer December 8, 2017



A hundred and twenty-two recipients have lost their DACA status each day since October, meaning, among other things, that they can no longer legally work in the U.S.

Photograph by Robyn Beck / AFP / Getty

In September, after Donald Trump cancelled Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals, the popular Obama-era program that granted legal protections to undocumented immigrants who had been brought to the U.S. as children, he told the program's seven hundred thousand recipients, who then faced the prospect of being deported, that they had "nothing to worry

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about." His decision didn't end the program right away—it gave Congress six months, until

March, to negotiate a policy solution. Until then, the President said, "No action!"

But Trump failed to mention that the hundred and fifty-four thousand DACA recipients whose statuses were scheduled for renewal before March had only until October to send in their paperwork. (Under Obama, recipients had to reapply for DACA every two years.) Some twenty-two thousand of them didn't submit their materials in time. Each day since then, according to the Center for American Progress, a hundred and twenty-two DACA recipients have lost their status, meaning, among other things, that they can no longer legally work in the U.S.

One of them is Brittany Aguilera, a twenty-eight-year-old from Trinidad, who came to the U.S. when she was three. She lives in the Far Rockaway neighborhood of Queens, in New York City, with her mother, father, and younger sister, who is a U.S. citizen. Before Trump's decision, Aguilera's DACA status—which she had held since 2012—had been up for renewal this month. She sent in her paperwork in September, after Trump's decision, but an error meant that her renewal wasn't processed before the deadline. She spoke with me on Wednesday, the night before her status was due to expire. Thursday was her last day at work, as a nanny in Brooklyn. This interview has been edited and condensed.

y whole legal situation ended up coming up junior year in high school, when the P.S.A.T.s came up. They asked you for your Social Security number. I didn't know what a social was. I asked my teacher. She said, 'It's a little blue card.' I was, like, 'I've never seen that in my life.' At the time, I didn't really question it. It was just the P.S.A.T.

"I wanted to go to college out of New York. I wanted to see something new. There were these writing scholarships. Senior year, my honors-English teacher showed me what I needed to submit for my applications, and again the social came up. It also asked for a passport or a form of I.D. I didn't have any of this! That was when it really hit me. It all went downhill from there.

"I ended up applying to Queensborough Community College for nursing. It wasn't the major I originally wanted to do; that was journalism. But I loved school. Then came the time to get to the major. You need to provide certain documentation. I didn't do it.

I dropped out of school. It was then that I took my first childcare job, and I've just been working since.

"I applied to DACA immediately, right when it came out, in 2012. I went into hibernation mode when I first applied to it. I told my friends I couldn't hang out, that I wanted to focus on this. At that point, all I was hearing in my head was, 'You can't do this, you can't do that.' Even when my dad told me about it I was, like, 'This is not going to work out, but I'll do it.' I got the first letter that they got my application. I got my appointment for biometrics, did that. And then I just waited. I got my approval letter three weeks after my biometrics appointment. I never really worried. I'm in good standing. I'm doing everything I'm supposed to do.

"When Trump won, I thought, DACA's going to be gone. There was a sense of exhaustion, of being permanently tired. More than really stressed, more than really worried; it was more of a tired feeling, like a heavy blanket.

VIDEO FROM THE NEW YORKER

Rejected Trump Sketches by Barry Blitt

"I always give myself two months before my expiration date to reapply for it. When September came, I did not know that he had been planning to end it. It was a friend who brought it to my attention, literally on Labor Day, which was September 4th. She was, like, 'You still have DACA right? You should pay attention to the news tomorrow.' I was on Eastern Parkway, in the parade, having the time of my life, not thinking of anything. I woke up the next morning, and it said DACA will expire on October 5th. In my mind, I was, like, O.K., that doesn't apply to me, because I'm still in the bracket to renew. I got my money. I sent in my application on the twenty-first of September, on the dot.

"It did not get sent back to me until October 5th, which was the day of the deadline, for a missing signature. It had a green paper that said, When you send it back, place this on top.' I was thinking, This green paper is going to let them know that I submitted it already. I sent it out early the next day—a Friday. It arrived in the mailbox on the Saturday. They're not open on the Saturday. Then, that's Columbus Day Weekend. It wasn't signed for until the following Tuesday. I'm waiting and waiting and waiting. By now I should have already heard. I'm checking the mailbox every single day. The tenth came. I got back a package. It said they were no longer accepting applications after October 5th. But that makes no sense. My application wasn't a new application.

"Now I was stressing. I alerted my bosses right away. It put all of this into motion. They're trying to figure out a way to keep me. My last day is tomorrow. My bosses have said that they could hold my job until January, to see if anything changes.

"The situation, when you deal with it for so long, it turns you into a person who doesn't have the ability to stress the way a normal person stresses; you don't have the ability to show the regular emotions a normal person would show. All you know is how you feel in the moment. All I can do is exhaust all possible options. I'm focussed on taking the next step, to survive past Thursday. My practical move is taking a breather. According to what everyone tells me, there's still discussions on this topic going on—anything can happen.

"I don't want to become a different person because of this situation. I don't just want to be another 'Dreamer' who Trump screwed over, or who a clerical error screwed over. I have a nephew. I need to be able to smile back at him when he smiles at me."



Jonathan Blitzer is a staff writer at The New Yorker. Read more »

Video

Trump's Jerusalem Decision Stirs Tension in the Middle East By announcing a plan to change the location of the U.S. Embassy, the President angered allies and set off worldwide protests.

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	THE REGENTS OF THE UNIVERSITY OF	CASE NO. 17-CV-05211-WHA
21	CALIFORNIA and JANET NAPOLITANO, in her official capacity as President of the	DEÇLARATION OF MARCELO M.
22	University of California,	SUÁREZ-OROZCO, PH.D.
23	Plaintiffs,	
24	V.	
25	U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HOMELAND	
26	SECURITY and ELAINE DUKE, in her official capacity as Acting Secretary of the	
	Department of Homeland Security,	
27	Defendants.	
28		

1	STATE OF CALIFORNIA, STATE OF MAINE, STATE OF MARYLAND, and	CASE NO. 17-CV-05235-WHA
2	STATE OF MINNESOTA,	
3	Plaintiffs,	
4	V.	
5	U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HOMELAND SECURITY, ELAINE DUKE, in her official	
6	capacity as Acting Secretary of the Department of Homeland Security, and the UNITED	
7	STATES OF AMERICA, Defendants.	
8		
9	CITY OF SAN JOSE, a municipal corporation,	CASE NO. 17-CV-05329-WHA
10	Plaintiffs,	
11	v.	
12	DONALD J. TRUMP, President of the United States, in his official capacity, ELAINE C.	
13	DUKE, in her official capacity, and the UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,	
14	Defendants.	
15		CASE NO. 17-CV-05380-WHA
16	DULCE GARCIA, MIRIAM GONZALEZ AVILA, SAUL JIMENEZ SUAREZ,	CASE NO. 17-C v-03380-WHA
17	VIRIDIANA CHABOLLA MENDOZA, NORMA RAMIREZ, and JIRAYUT	
18	LATTHIVONGSKORN,	
19	Plaintiffs,	
20	V.	
21	UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, DONALD J. TRUMP, in his official capacity as President	
22	of the United States, U.S. DÉPARTMENT OF HOMELAND SECURITY, and ELAINE	
23	DUKE, in her official capacity as Acting Secretary of Homeland Security,	
24	Defendants.	
25		
26		
27		
28		

COUNTY OF SANTA CLARA and CASE NO. 17-CV-05813-WHA SERVICE EMPLOYEES INTERNATIONAL UNION LOCAL 521, Plaintiffs, v. DONALD J. TRUMP, in his official capacity as President of the United States, JEFFERSON BEAUREGARD SESSIONS, in his official capacity as Attorney General of the United States; ELAINE DUKE, in her official capacity as Acting Secretary of the Department of Homeland Security; and U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HOMELAND SECURITY, Defendants.

- 1. I am the Wasserman Dean of the Graduate School of Education and Information Studies at the University of California, Los Angeles ("UCLA"). The matters set forth herein are true and correct of my own personal knowledge and, if called as a witness, I could and would testify competently thereto.
- 2. In my role as the Wasserman Dean of UCLA's Graduate School of Education and Information Studies, I lead two academic departments, 16 nationally renowned research institutes, and two innovative demonstration schools. My research focuses on conceptual and empirical problems in cultural psychology and psychological anthropology with an emphasis on the study of migration, globalization, and education. I have authored, co-authored, or edited almost 40 books and over 150 articles and book chapters on these topics, including on the relationship between immigration, education, and achievement. My Curriculum Vitae is attached as Exhibit A.
- 3. A substantial body of research documents the negative educational, developmental, physical, psychological, and other effects that growing up without authorized immigration status has on children, adolescents, and young adults. DACA provided a safe and reliable mechanism through which young immigrants who were brought to this country through no fault of their own—often at a young age—could integrate more fully into the American communities in which they were raised.
- 4. DACA has enabled approximately 750,000 young immigrants to integrate into and contribute more to communities across the country; its rescission will snatch these youngsters from the stability they have come to expect and force them back into a life in the shadows as unauthorized immigrants. The research is clear: current DACA recipients who are forced to return to unauthorized immigration status will experience myriad negative educational, developmental, physical, psychological, and other effects because of DACA's rescission.¹

¹ See, e.g., Suárez-Orozco, Carola, Conferring Disadvantage: Behavioral and Developmental Implications for Children Growing up in the Shadow of Undocumented Immigration Status, 38 J. DEVELOPMENTAL & BEHAV. PEDIATRICS 424 (2017); Hirokazu Yoshikawa, Carola Suarez-Orozco, & Roberto G. Gonzales, Unauthorized Status and Youth Development in the United States: Consensus Statement of the Society for Research on Adolescence, 27 J. OF RES. ON ADOLESCENCE 4 (2017).

The Benefits of DACA

5. Recipients of DACA status share a number of defining characteristics. First, they came to this country at a young age, through no volition of their own. Because of this, DACA recipients grew up in American society and have been socialized as Americans.

- 6. Most DACA recipients received some or all of their K-12 education at American schools. Although their American education created opportunities, such as pursuing higher education, DACA recipients' undocumented status imposed burdens not faced by their citizen peers. For example, without their DACA status, youths cannot legally work in this country and face other hurdles such as the inability to open a bank account or travel freely.
- 7. DACA enabled its recipients to engage fully with society and pursue opportunities to better their lives and the lives of those around them. With the promise that they could freely live, work, travel, and pursue an education, DACA recipients enrolled in universities like UCLA, got jobs to help support their families and pay for the educations, and pursued internships and other endeavors that enriched their lives and our communities.
- 8. Studies of the impact of DACA reveal the measurable benefits that accrue to individuals gaining legal protections. Participation in DACA has been associated with greater experiences of incorporation and integration into U.S. society. These include greater sense of national belonging,² civic participation,³ and involvement in college activities.⁴ Rates of obtaining a driver's license, obtaining health care, opening bank accounts, and applying for credit cards are also higher.⁵ There is also some

² See, e.g., Robert T. Teranishi, Carola Suárez-Orozco, & Marcelo Suárez-Orozco, In the Shadows of the Ivory Tower: Undocumented Undergraduates in the Uncertain Era of Immigration Reform. Institute FOR IMMIGRATION, GLOBALIZATION, AND EDUCATION, UCLA (2015), available at http://www.undocuscholars.org/assets/undocuscholarsreport2015.pdf; Tom Wong & Carolina Valdivia, In Their Own Words: A National Survey of Undocumented Millennials. UNITED WE DREAM (2014), available at https://unitedwedream.org/words-nationwide-survey-undocumented-millennials/

³ Tom Wong & Carolina Valdivia, *supra* note 2.

⁴ Robert T. Teranishi, et al., supra note 2.

⁵ Roberto G. Gonzales, Veronica Terriquez, & Stephen P. Ruszczyk, *Becoming DACAmented: Assessing the Short-Term Benefits of DACA (Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals).* 58 AMERICAN BEHAVIORAL SCIENTIST 1852-1872 (2014).

evidence that those who apply for and are awarded DACA attain higher levels of education, although the pathways of causality are not clear (those who apply for DACA may be positively selected).⁶

- 9. Put simply, DACA has provided young immigrants with many important benefits. For example, the UCLA study of childhood arrivals by the UndocuScholars Project found that 85.5 percent of students with DACA reported a positive impact on their education. DACA recipients indicated enjoying higher rates of working, greater housing & transportation stability, greater success in gaining access to both scholarships and internships. Lastly, 94 percent of DACA recipients indicated a wish to apply for U.S. citizenship if eligible.⁷
- 10. Research points to the mechanisms by which protection against deportation can bring improvement in an immigrant child's life trajectory. First, most simply, such protection eliminates the fear and anxiety that flow from the constant concerns deportation and sudden forced family separations. Like removing a hobble, this allows a child, youth and emerging adult to ascend developmentally, grow psychologically more secure, and attain greater educational success. Second, protections serve to remove tangible barriers to economic opportunity and social integration that arise from unauthorized status. Third, protections foster social trust and civic engagement with the institutions of society. Basic social science research has documented these outcomes in a variety of empirical, conceptual, and methodological traditions.⁸
- 11. Research further suggest that even a temporary work permit, such as those granted under DACA, can set in motion a process that brings economic benefits first to the immigrants, in the form of higher wages, and then to the public sector, in the form of higher tax revenue, and then to the nation as a whole, in the form of a more productive labor force. Permission to work under DACA provides unauthorized immigrants with better educational opportunities, a shield against workplace exploitation, and grant freedom to move across the labor market to find work that best suits their skills.

⁶ Robert T. Teranishi, et al., supra note 2.

⁷ *Id*.

⁸ Robert Suro, Marcelo M. Suárez-Orozco, & Stephanie L. Canizales, *Removing Insecurity: How American Children Will Benefit From President Obama's Executive Action on Immigration*. TOMAS RIVERA POLICY INSTITUTE AT USC & THE INSTITUTE FOR IMMIGRATION, GLOBALIZATION, AND EDUCATION AT UCLA (2015).

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27 28 The Negative Effects of The Rescission of DACA

- 12. Rescinding DACA will thrust its young recipients back into turmoil and anxiety of living with unauthorized immigration status, thwarting the measurable gains in human and social capital that DACA has enabled.
- 13. Research on the negative effects of undocumented status sheds light onto the consequences that DACA recipients will face when they lose the benefits that DACA promised. In particular, DACA recipients who lose their DACA status will likely face a slew of negative educational, developmental, physical, and psychological consequences.

The Negative Educational and Developmental Consequences of DACA's Rescission

- 14. Multiple studies have shown that children who grow up undocumented exhibit lower levels of cognitive development and emotional well-being throughout early childhood and adolescence than comparable children whose parents have no immigration issues. The research that has produced this finding carefully isolated the impact of immigration status from other factors such as low incomes or low levels of education among the parents.
- 15. As early as ages two and three, children growing up undocumented or with undocumented parents had lower cognitive skills as measured by standardized tests than comparable samples of children of parents who have no immigration issues. Research shows that the lack of a documented status is harmful to children's development—particularly their cognitive and language skills. These findings are based on a study of 380 newborns recruited hours after birth in public hospitals in New York City and then followed for three years with assessments of the children and in-depth interviews with the parents. Conducted by Hirokazu Yoshikawa, a developmental psychologist formerly at Harvard and now a professor at New York University's Steinhardt School of Culture, Education, and Human Development, the research offers a detailed assessment of how the everyday experiences of undocumented parents differ from legal immigrants in ways that can affect their children's development.
- 16. Professor Yoshikawa's research shows that parents are reluctant to interact with any government agencies to the point that children may not receive any resources for which they are eligible, and fear of interacting with the authorities could leave them vulnerable to criminal exploitation whether by smugglers, loan sharks or unscrupulous landlords. Undocumented immigrants tend to have more

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- 17. A more generalized study based on a large data set similarly concluded that the children growing up unauthorized are at greater risk of lower levels of development in the grade school years. That finding emerged from an analysis of data from the 2005 California Health Interview Survey, which has a sample of 43,020 households. The large sample enabled a team of researchers from the Institute for Social Science Research at the University of California Los Angeles to study developmental risks for children based on household level immigration status while controlling for other factors such as education, income and employment.¹⁰
- 18. Many of the same impediments to full development observed in early childhood may apply to middle childhood, including less frequent use of service, such as afterschool enrichment programs, and greater social isolation of family networks.
- 19. Moreover, by middle childhood, a child's cognitive skills and perspective-taking have developed to a point where he or she may have become aware of legal status—their own and that of their parents and siblings.¹¹ At this stage in a child's development, "concern over the family's legal

⁹ HIROKAZU YOSHIKAWA, IMMIGRANTS RAISING CITIZENS: UNDOCUMENTED PARENTS AND THEIR YOUNG CHILDREN (2011).

¹⁰ Alexander N. Ortega et al., *Documentation Status and Parental Concerns about Development in Young U.S. Children of Mexican Origin.* 9 ACADEMIC PEDIATRICS 278-282.

¹¹ Carola Suárez-Orozco et al., *Growing Up in the Shadows: The Developmental Implications of Unauthorized Status*, 81 HARV. EDUC. REV. 438, 452 (2011).

vulnerabilities begins to seep into consciousness. They become more cognizant of the culture of fear in which they live. Spanish-language television and radio frequently feature stories of deportations, and in some homes, it is a topic of family conversation that children begin to metabolize."¹²

- 20. At this stage in a child's development, he or she is beginning to make social comparisons. A child's recognition that his or her family is different can "affect self-esteem, increase anxiety, and produce internalizing symptoms" associated with depression and acting out behaviors.¹³
- 21. Development in adolescence implicates additional consequences of not having documented legal status. "[T]he key developmental task of adolescence is the formation of a stable sense of identity, along with finding one's place within the community beyond immediate family. Identity formation is, in part, achieved by mastering culturally marked rites of passage, such as obtaining a driver's license, getting a first job, and, for many, going off to college. Unauthorized youth are unable to fully partake in these normative coming of age rituals; moreover, their identity formation is complicated when they come to face a negative social mirror that portrays them as illegitimate and unwanted. For many adolescents who are unauthorized or are living in mixed-status homes, adolescence is a time when liminality first comes to fully destabilize their fragile world."¹⁴
- 22. Although family and K-12 schooling often provide unauthorized adolescent immigrants with relative protections, moving into young adulthood and the public sphere is shocking and renders youth particularly vulnerable. These youth must "learn to be illegal. Although they might have been under the initial illusion that they would have similar access to the opportunity structure as their authorized peers, they are now confronted with limited life opportunities." These youth learn that they are vulnerable to deportation and have drastically limited educational and employment choices.¹⁵

¹² *Id*.

¹³ *Id*.

¹⁴ Id. at 453. See also Carola Suárez-Orozco & Marcelo M. Suárez-Orozco, Children of Immigration (2001); Carola Suárez-Orozco, et al., Learning a New Land: Immigrant Students in American Society (2008).

¹⁵ Carola Suárez-Orozco, *supra* note 11, at 454.

- 23. The consequences of a young immigrant's undocumented status manifest in a variety of ways. For example, one survey of over 909 college students found statistically higher levels of anxiety in young college students who are unauthorized immigrants compared to standard measures of their peers in the general population.¹⁶
- 24. In sum, the negative consequences of unauthorized status, including limited access to services and opportunities, fear of deportation and forced family separations, have long-term and tangible developmental effects on the lives of their children and youth. Eliminating these negative consequences increases a child's cognitive development and well-being in childhood, middle-childhood, and adolescence.

The Negative Physical and Health Consequences of DACA's Rescission

- 25. Research suggests household-level undocumented status poses obstacles to access many means-tested benefits. An in-depth study of three communities by Randolph Capps and colleagues at the Urban Institute revealed that families go to great lengths to avoid contact with social service providers despite their children's program or service eligibility for fear of being identified as undocumented and deported.¹⁷
- 26. Researchers from the Center for Family and Demographic Research analyzed data collected by the Survey of Program Dynamics and found that food insecurity among the children of non-citizens has been higher and more persistent since the passing of the Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act, which made non-citizens ineligible for federally funded food assistance programs.

¹⁶ Robert T. Teranishi, et al., supra note 2.

¹⁷ Children and youth with unauthorized status are excluded from most means-tested federal and associated state programs. This includes sources of health or mental health care such as Medicaid, Medicare, or Children's Health Insurance Programs (CHIP) (aside from emergency care and care provided during the perinatal and immediate postnatal period); publicly funded job training; public housing; Supplemental Nutrition Assistance (SNAP, or Food Stamps); the Earned Income Tax Credit; Social Security; and cash welfare assistance (TANF or Temporary Assistance for Needy Families). Unauthorized immigrants are also ineligible for the expanded health insurance coverage through exchanges provided by the Affordable Care Act.

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¹⁸ Ariel Kalil & Jen-Hao Chen, Mother's Citizenship Status and Household Food Insecurity Among Low-Income Children of Immigrants. In H. Yoshikawa and N. Way eds. Beyond the Family: Contexts of Immigrant Children's Development. 121 DIRECTIONS FOR CHILD AND ADOLESCENT DEVELOPMENT 43-62.

externalizing (aggressive and acting out) behavioral problems in a sample of Mexican-origin, primary-

school-age children with unauthorized parents, relative to their counterparts with documented or citizen

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²¹ Nancy S. Landale, Jessica Halliday Hardie, R.S. Oropesa, & Marianne M. Hillemeier, *Behavioral* Functioning Among Mexican-Origin Children: Does Parental Legal Status Matter? 56 J HEALTH SOC Behav. 2-18 (2015).

²⁰ JOANNA DREBY, EVERYDAY ILLEGAL: WHEN POLICIES UNDERMINE IMMIGRANT FAMILIES (2015).

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¹⁹ Carola Suárez-Orozco, *supra* note 11.

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- 30. UCLA scholar Leisy J. Abrego's study based on 200 interviews conducted between 1998 and 2010 with Central American immigrants in Los Angeles and Phoenix and in sending communities, found that fear of detention and deportation generated "normalized but cumulative injurious effects" in work, family and school contexts. Some of those effects include restricted social integration and impeded upward mobility.²²
- 31. A recent UCLA study of undocumented youth who were brought to the United States as children and are now in college found very high levels of anxiety due to fears of deportation. The UndocuScholars Project at UCLA conducted a survey of 909 undocumented undergraduates in 2014 and found that more than three-quarters expressed worries about being deported and more than half reported knowing someone who had been deported. These worries and other aspects of the insecurity that comes from being unauthorized translated into measurable consequences for the respondents' health. Among male subjects 28.5 percent produced scores on a standard anxiety screening that were above the cutoff for a clinical diagnosis; for females, it was 36.7 percent. In comparison, the shares in a population of college students with no reason to fear deportation would be 4 percent and 9 percent, respectively.²³
- 32. In summary, rescinding DACA will return the youth who have benefited from the program back into the shadows of society, and to living in the state of fear and precariousness that triggers the negative consequences described above. Without DACA's promise that they can pursue their education and work and travel freely, these young people—who are Americans in every way except on paper—will likely lose the motivation to pursue their education, the means to work and support themselves and their families, and the psychological and social stability upon which they have come to rely.

I declare under penalty of perjury under the laws of the United States that the foregoing is true and correct.

Executed on October 27, 2017, at Los Angeles, California.

Margelo M. Suárez-Orozco

²² Cecilia Menjivar, & Leisy J. Abrego, *Legal Violence: Immigration Law and the Lives of Central American Immigrants.* 117 AMERICAN JOURNAL OF SOCIOLOGY 1380-1421 (2012).

²³ Robert T. Teranishi, et al., supra note 2.

EXHIBIT A

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EXPERIENCE

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<u>University Professor</u>, New York University, 2005-2012.

The Courtney Sale Ross University Professor of Globalization and Education, New York University, 2004-2012.

Special Advisor to the Chief Prosecutor, The International Criminal Court, The Hague, The Netherlands, 2012.

The Fisher Membership Fellow, Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton, NJ, 2009-2010.

Scholar in Residence, Ross Institute, East Hampton, New York, 2003-2004.

The Victor S. Thomas Professor of Education, Harvard University Graduate School of Education 2001-2004.

<u>Professor</u>, Human Development and Psychology, Harvard University Graduate School of Education, 1995-2001.

<u>Faculty Associate</u>, The Weatherhead Center for International Affairs, Harvard University, 1997-2004.

Norbert Elias Lectureship, Amsterdam School for Social Sciences, The Netherlands, May 1996.

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<u>Visiting Associate Professor</u>, Centrum voor Sociale en Culturele Antropologie, Katholieke Universiteit te Leuven (Belgium), Winter 1989.

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<u>Visiting Assistant Professor</u>, Anthropology Board, University of California, Santa Cruz, Fall 1986 and Spring 1987.

<u>Visiting Assistant Professor</u>, Graduate School of Education, University of California, Santa Barbara, Winter 1987.

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Research Assistant, Graduate School of Education, University of California, Berkeley. 2/81-1/83.

Reader, Department of Anthropology, University of California, Berkeley. Responsible for grading examinations for the following courses: Psycho-social Problems in Changing Cultures (Fall 1983); Folk Narrative (Spring 1982); Psycho-social Problems in Changing Cultures (Winter 1982); The Forms of Folklore (Fall 1982); The Forms of Folklore (Summer 1981); Myth (Summer 1981); Culture and Personality (Winter 1981); Mexico and Central America (Fall 1981); Psycho-social Problems in Changing Cultures (Summer 1980).

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Dean, Graduate School of Education and Information Studies, UCLA, 2012-

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<u>Co-Director</u>, Harvard Immigration Projects, Harvard University Graduate School of Education, 1997-2004.

<u>Executive Committee</u>, David Rockefeller Center for Latin American Studies (DRCLAS), Harvard University, 1996-2003.

PUBLICATIONS

Books, Edited Books, & Volumes

- I. Suárez-Orozco, Marcelo M. Central American Refugees and U.S. High Schools: A Psychosocial Study of Motivation and Achievement. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1989.* Book based on doctoral dissertation: In Pursuit of A Dream, Winner of the American Educational Research Association (Division G) Best Doctoral Dissertation Award (1988); Winner of the R. Boyer Award for Outstanding Research in Psychological Anthropology, University of California, Berkeley (1986)
- 2. Suárez-Orozco, Marcelo M. and George De Vos. "Status Inequality: The Self in Culture." Cross-Cultural Research and Methodology Series 15. Newbury Park, London, and New Delhi: Sage Publications, 1990.
- 3. Suárez-Orozco, Marcelo M., ed. "Belonging and Alienation." A Special Issue of The Journal of Psychohistory and Psychoanalytic Anthropology 18, no. 4 (1991): 371-546.*
- 4. Suárez-Orozco, Marcelo M., ed. "Migration, Minority Status, and Education: European Dilemmas and Responses in the 1990s." Theme Issue of Anthropology & Education Quarterly 22, no. 2 (1991): 99-199.*
- 5. Suárez-Orozco, Marcelo M. "Antropología psicoanalítica." Psicología dinámica en la Universidad Volúmen 9. Translation and preface by C. Joanne Crawford. Barcelona: Hogar del Libro, 1991.
- 6. Suárez-Orozco, Marcelo M., George Spindler, and Louise Spindler, eds. *The Making of Psychological Anthropology II.* Fort Worth: Harcourt Brace, 1994.
- 7. Suárez-Orozco, Marcelo M., and Carola Suárez-Orozco. *Transformations: Immigration, Family Life, and Achievement Motivation Among Latino Adolescents*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1995.* Winner of the Social Policy Book Award, Society for Research on Adolescents, 1996.
- 8. Suárez-Orozco, Marcelo M., ed. Crossings: Mexican Immigration in Interdisciplinary Perspectives. Cambridge: David Rockefeller Center for Latin American Studies and Harvard University Press, 1998.*
- 9. Suárez-Orozco, Marcelo M., and Antonius C.G.M. Robben, eds. *Cultures under Siege: Collective Violence and Trauma*. London and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2001.*
- 10. Suárez-Orozco, Marcelo M., and Carola Suárez-Orozco. *Children of Immigration*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2001.*
- II. Suárez-Orozco, Marcelo M., and Mariela Páez, eds. Latinos: Remaking America. Cambridge and Berkeley: David Rockefeller Center for Latin American Studies at Harvard University and University of California Press, 2002.*
- 12. Suárez-Orozco, Marcelo M., and Carola Suárez-Orozco. La infancia de la inmigración. Madrid: Ediciones Morata, 2003. (Spanish version of Children of Immigration)*

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SELECTED INVITED PRESENTATIONS

The Catastrophic Migrations of the 21st Century: Implications of Education and Schooling. The Pontifical Academy of Sciences, the Pontifical Academy of Social Sciences, The Holy See. Ethics in Action 3: Migrants and Refugees, Vatican City, May 25, 2017.

Humanism and Mass Migration. Keynote Address. The Pontifical Academy of Sciences, the Pontifical Academy of Social Sciences [The Holy See] and the UCLA Graduate School of Education and Information Studies Workshop on Humanitarianism and Mass Migration. University of California Los Angeles, January 18, 2017.

Global Migration, Diversity, and Civic Education. Keynote Address. Center for Multicultural Education. The University of Washington, Seattle. February 10, 2017.

Learning in the Age of Complexity and Diversity. Invited Address. Second Annual Dyslexia Summit-Cognitive Diversity Project: Embracing Difference. Beckman Hall, Chapman University, Orange California, October 28, 2016.

Globalization 2.0: Further Thoughts on Children & Youth in an Interconnected World. Inaugural Address. Learning Outside the Lines: Children and Youth in an Interconnected World. College of Behavioral and Social Sciences, University of Maryland, College Park, September 28, 2016.

Citizenship in the Age of Globalization. Plenary Session with Howard Gardner. The Future of Learning. Project Zero Harvard University, Cambridge MA, July 26, 2016.

Public Scholarship & Immigrant Students. AERA Presidential Session. Washington, DC, April 10, 2016.

Public Scholarship on Global Migration & Structural Inclusion. AERA Presidential Session, Washington, DC, April 8, 2016.

The Empire of Suffering: Rethinking Mass Migration in the Age of Dystopia. Colloquium Series. Department of Sociology, University of Pennsylvania, PA. April 1, 2016.

From Local to Global: Public Research Universities in the 21st Century. (With UCLA Chancellor Gene Block, UCR Chancellor Kim Wilcox and AAAS President Jonathan Fanton). American Academy of Arts and Sciences. UCLA, Los Angeles, CA. February 4, 2016.

Education in the Age of Mass Migration. The 2016 Carl and Alice Daeufer Endowed Education Lecture. The University of Hawai'i, Mānoa, College of Education. Hawai'i, January 20, 2016.

Mass Migration & Education in the 21st Century – Policy Options: A view from the World of Research and Practice. Invited Address to the Legislature, State of Hawai'i. Honolulu, HI, January 21, 2016.

Immigration Today. Chancellor's Thought Leaders Series. The Chancellor's Residency, The University of Hawai'i at Mānoa, January 21, 2016.

The Empire of Suffering: Further Thoughts on Mass Migration in the Age of Dystopia. Keynote Address. Transforming Migrations, UC Irvine 50th Anniversary Academic Symposia, Irvine, CA, October 9, 20115.

Rethinking Education in the Age of Vertigo. Keynote Address. California Association for Asian and Pacific American Education. California State University at Northridge, Northridge, CA, July 31, 2015.

The Ninth Circuit in the Age of Mass Migration. Keynote Address. 2015 Ninth Circuit Judicial Conference. San Diego, CA, July 14, 2015.

After Immigration: New Anxieties in the Age of Global Vertigo. Keynote Address. Paulo Freire Institute, UCLA, April 24, 2015.

In the Shadows of the Ivory Tower: Findings from America's First Survey of Undocumented College Students. Invited Lecture. Steinhardt Institute for Higher Education, New York University, NYC, April 2, 2015.

Undocumented Undergraduates in American Colleges. Invited Lecture. Center for American Progress. Washington, DC. March 31, 2015.

Globalization, Mass Migration and Inequality: Further Thoughts on Education in the Age of Vertigo. The Marian Miner Cook Athenaeum Series, Claremont University Consortium, Claremont, CA, March 3, 2015.

Unaccompanied Child Migration 2.0. Invited Address. Unaccompanied Child Migration Symposium. The Kenan Institute for Ethics at Duke University, Durham, NC, February 23, 2015.

Educating Immigrant Children for the 21st Century. Keynote Address. Early Childhood Education and Care & Early Language Learning Conference. Council of Europe, the Italian Presidency, and the Italian Ministry of Education. The Loris Malaguzzi International Center, Reggio Children. Reggio Emilia, Italy, December 17, 2014.

Demographic Shifts: Impacts on Education. Invited Keynote. The National Academy of Education. The National Academy of Sciences, Washington DC, November 15, 2014.

Rethinking Education in the Age of Global Vertigo: Further Thoughts on Globalization, Immigration and Inequality. Keynote Address. Third Annual Research Colloquium, California State University Northridge, CA, October 29, 2014.

Education and Equality: A Response to Danielle Allen. Discussant: The Tanner Lectures on Human Values, Center for Ethics in Society, Stanford University, CA, October 9, 2014.

Education Tools and Methods. Roundtable Discussion, Session Chair. The Blouin Creative Leadership Summit. The Museum of Modern Art, New York, NY, September 24, 2014.

The Three Faces of Herod: Unaccompanied Children at the US Southern Border. Vatican Symposium on International Migration and Development. Invited Lecture. Mexican Ministry of Foreign Affairs & the Holy See, Mexico, DF, July 14, 2014.

Global Migration-Demographic & Cultural Changes. Invited Lecture. Contributions Council of the Conference Board. National Civil Rights Museum, Memphis, TN. June 24, 2014.

Education for Hyper-Diversity. UCLA Student Affairs Staff Meeting, UCLA, Los Angeles, CA, May 5, 2014.

The Children of Immigrants at School: A Comparative Look at Integration in the United States and Western Europe. Introductory Address. The Graduate Center CUNY, New York. May 1, 2014.

Access in Education: Why Civil Rights in Schools Still Matter. Roundtable Discussion. UCLA, GSE&IS Dean's Distinguished Speaker Series, UCLA, Los Angeles, CA, April 14, 2014.

Education and Immigration. Roundtable Discussion. Conversation with an Expert, Edward. R. Roybal Learning Center, Los Angeles, CA, April 10, 2014.

Education in the Age of Mass Migration and Superdiversity. Invited Keynote. Conference on Heritage/Community Languages, UCLA. Los Angeles, CA, March 7, 2014.

Making a Difference in Urban Schools: Drawing Lessons from the Field. Introductory Address. UCLA, GSE&IS Dean's Distinguished Speaker Series, UCLA, Los Angeles, CA, February 24, 2014.

Education and Educating in the Age of Migration and Superdiversity. Invited Keynote. International Conference: Migration and Education, University of Hildesheim, Hildesheim, Germany, February 20, 2014.

Rethinking Migration and Education in the Age of Global Vertigo. Invited Lecture. Hertie School of Governance, Berlin, Germany, February 19, 2014.

Making Education Work for Latinas. Roundtable Discussion. GSE&IS Dean's Distinguished Speaker Series, UCLA, Los Angeles, CA, December 2, 2013.

Educating Immigrant Children. Invited Lecture. Bread and Brain, Education and Poverty, Pontifical Academy of Sciences, Casina Pio IV, Vatican City, Rome, November 4, 2013.

The Empire of Suffering: Trafficking of Children in the Global Millennium. Invited Lecture. Trafficking in Human Beings: Modern Slavery. Pontifical Academy of Sciences, Casina Pio IV, Vatican City, November 2, 2013.

Rethinking Immigration & Education in the Global Era. Invited Lecture. University of Southern California, Los Angeles, CA, October 29, 2013.

Latinos in the 21st Century: Continuities and Change. Invited Keynote. Florida State University, Tallahassee, FL, October 15, 2013.

Today is the Future. Univision Education Town Hall. Roundtable Discussion. Ackerman Grand Ballroom, UCLA, Los Angeles, CA, October 4, 2013.

Education Methods and Ideas. Invited Address. The Blouin Creative Leadership Summit. The Metropolitan Club, New York, NY, September 24, 2013.

From Blackboards to iPads: Examining Education in the 21st Century. Roundtable Discussion. Education Policy Salon, Los Angeles, CA, September 16, 2013.

Beyond Immigration Reform. Televised Education Town Hall. National Council of La Raza Annual Meeting. New Orleans, Louisiana, July 20, 2013.

Education for Citizenship in the Public University-Israel & the US. Invited Address. Association for Israel Studies 29th Annual Meeting. UCLA School of Law, Los Angeles, CA, June 24, 2013.

Education Minor Spring Reception. Invited Keynote. Department of Education, UCLA, Los Angeles, CA June 4, 2013.

The Future of California: Immigration & Education. Keynote Address. Antioch University Board of Trustees Forum, Santa Barbara, CA, May 29, 2013.

Human Development in Latino Contexts: Cultural, Neural, and Applied Perspectives. Invited Lecture. UCLA, Los Angeles, CA, May 23, 2013.

What Would Immigration Reform Mean for Los Angeles? Invited Zócalo/Azteca America/ California Community Foundation Roundtable, The California Endowment, Los Angeles, CA, May 1, 2013.

Improbable Scholars: The Rebirth of a Great American School System and a Strategy for America's Schools. Roundtable Discussion. UCLA, GSE&IS Dean's Distinguished Speaker Series, UCLA, Los Angeles, CA, April 24, 2014.

Globalization and Education: Implications for Business. Invited Keynote. ATT Business Forum, ATT Headquarters, Dallas, TX, April 17, 2013.

Latino Youth in America: The Education Imperative. Invited Keynote. Kansas State University, Manhattan, Kansas, March 27, 2013.

Issues of Identity: Immigration's Echo & Alternate Perspectives on Definitions of Civic Engagement. (Carola Suárez-Orozco, Marcelo Suárez-Orozco & Maria Hernandez). Invited Address. Youth Civic Development and Education Conference, Stanford University Graduate School of Education, Stanford, CA, February 7, 2013.

Policy Scholars on Undocumented Students. Roundtable Discussion. Graduate Student Policy Seminar, ASHE, The Cosmopolitan Hotel, Las Vegas, NV, November 14, 2012.

Immigration, Education, and Language Research, Invited Lecture. GSE&IS, UCLA. Los Angeles, CA, November 9, 2012.

(Re) Imagining Immigration and Education in the Era of Global Vertigo. Keynote Address. Imagining a World where it is Easier to Love. Celebrating the 10th Anniversary of the Paulo Freire Institute at UCLA, Los Angeles, CA, September 19, 2012.

The Futures of Learning Roundtable Discussion K. Anthony Appiah, Howard Gardner, and Marcelo M. Suárez-Orozco.) Harvard University Graduate School of Education. Cambridge, MA, August 3, 2012.

Immigration in America Today: New Data, New Opportunities, New Constraints. Keynote Address. The United Nations Alliance for Civilization Fellows Program. Institute for International Education, United Nations Plaza, May 7, 2012.

Educating the Whole Child for the Whole World. Keynote Address. The National Reading Campaing/Campagne sur la Lecture. Simon Fraser University, Vancouver, Canada, May 2, 2012.

Educating Children for the 21st Century. Rutgers University Graduate School of Education Keynote Address, Rutgers, NJ, March 27, 2012.

Educating the Whole Child for the Whole World. The Rivers School of Weston, Weston, MA, March 26, 2012

The New Normal in American Immigration. Keynote Address. Harvard Club of New York City, New York, March 21, 2012.

Growing Up in the Shadows: The Children of the Unauthorized Come of Age. Invited Address, Conference on "Immigration in the Wake of the Great Recession," The Thomas Rivera Policy Institute, University of Southern California, Los Angeles, March 5, 2012.

In the Shadows: The Educational Implications of Unauthorized Status. (Carola Suárez-Orozco and Marcelo Suárez-Orozco). Keynote Address. The 29th Teachers College Annual Winter Roundtable. Teachers College of Columbia University, New York, February 24, 2012.

Rethinking Immigration and Education in the Age of Global Vertigo. Keynote Address, The Center for Civic Engagement, College of Arts and Sciences, College of Education and Human Sciences, Department of Psychology, Department of Anthropology and UNL Research Council and the Faculty Senate Convocations Committee, University of Nebraska, Lincoln, February 6,

Educating Immigrant Children for the 21st Century: Lessons from around the World. The Lincoln Community Foundation. Lincoln Nebraska, February 7, 2012.

Globalization and Education. Keynote Address. Heritage Languages and Social Cohesion. Lycée Français de New York. New York, November 5, 2011.

Immigration and Business after the Crisis. Keynote Address, Grand Valley State University School of Business, Grand Rapids, Michigan, October 13, 2011.

Acting on the Dream: Immigrant Students at the Crossroads. Hispanic Heritage Celebration. Keynote Address. The Intercultural Center for Peace, Northern Florida State University, Jacksonville, Florida, October 3, 2011.

The Futures of Immigration: Scholars and Journalists in Dialogue. The Nieman Foundation for Journalism at Harvard, Cambridge MA, September 30, 2011.

Education and Global Civil Society. Dialogues on the Global Civil Society with the Right Honourable Gordon Brown, former Prime Minister of the United Kingdom. New York University, NYC, September 21, 2011.

Further Reflections on Education for the Global Era. Invited Address. The Blouin Creative Leadership Summit. The Metropolitan Club, New York City, September 20, 2011.

Immigration and Education in the Age of Global Vertigo. Invited Address with an introduction by Dean Delia Garcia. College of Education, Florida International University, Miami, Florida, September 14, 2011.

Global Migrations: Identities and Education for the 21st Century. Invited address Tercer Encuentro Mundial: Valores y Cultura de la Legalidad with His Holiness the 14th Dalai Lama of Tibet. Monterrey, Mexico, September 9, 2011.

Immigration: The Long View. Keynote Address. Yale Summer Institute on Colonial Latin America. El Museo del Barrio, New York City, July 8, 2011.

Immigration Nation? Keynote Address. The Harvard Club, New York City. May 18, 2011.

Immigration Today: Japan-US Comparisons. Invited Address. International Conference on Immigration in Japan and the U.S. School of International Relations and Pacific Studies. University of California, San Diego, CA, May, 6, 2007.

Acting on the Dream. Keynote Address, Dominican Studies Institute Research Library. The City College of New York, April 28, 2011.

Immigration in Troubled Times. Invited Lecture. Goldman School of Public Policy, U. C. Berkeley, CA, April 21, 2011.

Educating the Whole Child for the Whole World. Keynote Address. Graduate School of Education, Rutgers University, Rutgers, NJ, April 15, 2011.

Immigration and the Family: Theoretical Considerations. Invited Lecture. The NORFACE Research Programme on Migration. University College London, April 8, 2011.

Immigration and Education in the 21st Century. Keynote Address, New York Department of Education, The Museum of the City of New York, March 8, 2011.

Rethinking Immigration in the Era of Vertigo. Keynote Address, NYU in Boca Raton (NYU Alumni Office and NYU Development Office), Florida, February 23, 2011.

Immigration and Language. Keynote Address. The Minority Student Achievement Network Conference. University of Massachusetts, Amherst, December 7, 2010.

Immigration's Vertigo. Invited Lecture. American Academy of Child Psychiatry Annual Meeting. Ney York City, October 30, 2010.

Rethinking Latino Education. Keynote Address. Center for Latino Policy Research. University of California, Berkeley, CA, October 28, 2010.

Latinos in North America: Educational Implications in the Global Era. Keynote Address. 5th Hispanic Congress on Education. The Spanish Speaking Education Network, York University, Toronto, Canada, October 23, 2010.

The Global Migration Vertigo. The Dow Lecture on Conflict and Community, Saginaw Valley State University. Saginaw, Michigan, October 12, 2010.

Globalization and Education, 2.0. Keynote Address, the United Nations International School. New York, October 11, 2010.

Latinos and Immigration. Keynote Address, Harvard Faculty Club, Cambridge, MA. October 8, 2010.

Rethinking Latino Immigration and Health. Keynote Address. The Latino Health Forum, Harvard Medical School, Boston, MA, October 7, 2010.

Global Migration: New Realities. Keynote Address. Fondazione Cariplo/Bertelssman Stitfung International Conference on No Dialogue, No Citizenship. Teatro Piccolo Grassi, Milano, Italy, October 1, 2010.

Anti-Anti Immigration. Invited Lecture. Department of Anthropology and Center for Latin American Studies. University of California, Berkeley, CA, September 24, 2010.

Education; Technology and the Democracy of Knowledge in the Global Era. Invited Lecture. Blouin Creative Leadership Summit. The Metropolitan Club. New York, September 23, 2010.

Arizona's Firestorm: A Conversation between President Vicente Fox and Marcelo M. Suárez-Orozco moderated by Chrystia Freeland http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=RTsTYd6MG6A . Google Zeitgeist. Camel Back, Arizona, September 14, 2010.

State, School and Diversity in the Era of Mass Migration. Keynote Address. Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation, Lisbon, Portugal, June 7, 2010.

Learning a New Land: Latino Immigrant Students in American Society. Keynote Address. Princeton University Symposium on Latinos in America. Princeton, NJ April 10, 2010.

The Italian Immigration Crisis through American Eyes. The Second Annual Transatlantic Dialogue on Migration. Villa La Pietra, NYU, Florence, Italy. March 17, 2010.

Rethinking Global Migration. Keynote Address. The Nassau Club. Princeton, NJ, February 17, 2010.

Reflections Immigration and the Struggle for Civil Rights. Keynote Address. Martin Luther King, Jr. and the Dream Act. New York University School of Law, January 18, 2010.

Immigration's Unbearable Normalcy: Further Thoughts on Global Migration. Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton, NJ, January 14, 2010.

Immigrant Youth In Public Participation. The Public Participation Network. MacArthur Foundation. Charles Hotel, Cambridge, MA, January 7, 2010.

Immigration through the Eyes of Young People. Keynote Address on International Migrants Day, United Nations Headquarters. United Nations, New York, Dec. 18, 2009.

Rethinking Immigration in the Age of Global Vertigo. Keynote Address. Migrations and Transnational Identities: Crossing Borders, Bridging Disciplines. The Humanities Institute at Stony Brook, Nov. 13, 2009.

Rethinking Immigration, Education, and Language in the Age of Global Vertigo. Keynote Address. King Juan Carlos of Spain Center Conference on Immigration, Education and Language: A Spain/USA Perspective. New York University, November 12, 2009.

The New, New Immigration. Keynote Address. Migration Studies Project. Penn State University. November 2, 2009.

The State of Latino Children and Youth. Keynote Address. National Council of La Raza Children's Symposium. Washington, D.C., October 22, 2009.

Immigration, Race and the Academy. Keynote Address. Race in the Academy Lectures. Graduate School of Education, University of Pennsylvania. October 21, 2009.

A Cultural Psychology of Immigration in the Age of Global Vertigo. The Distinguished Lecture Series. The Graduate School, Princeton University, Princeton, NJ, October 14, 2009.

Immigration and Education. Keynote Address. Hispanic Heritage Month, University of Arkansas, Little Rock. October 5, 2009.

Education: Cognitive and Digital Tools for the Minds of the Next Generation. The Global Creative Leadership Summit. Louise Blouin Foundation and the United Nations Office for Partnerships. The Metropolitan Club, New York. September 24, 2009.

Globalization and the Future of Learning. A conversation with Howard Gardner and Fernando Reimers. The Future of Learning Workshop. Project Zero. Harvard Graduate School of Education, August 5, 2009.

Latino Immigration and Education. Keynote Address. The Northeastern Illinois University Symposium on Latinos in Chicago. June 6, 2009.

Biliteracy and Immigration: The Power to Connect. Keynote Address. Michigan Association of Bilingual Education. Michigan State University, East Lansing, MI May 15, 2009.

Immigration and Health. Keynote Address. Harvard School of Public Health. California Endowment Fellows Program. Cambridge, MA, May 4, 2009.

Immigrants in Dialogue. The Second United Nations Alliance for Civilization Forum. United Nations, Istanbul, Turkey, April 7, 2009.

Global Migration and Education in the 21st Century. Keynote Address. BahçeŞehir Üniversitesi, Istanbul, Turkey, March 18, 2009.

Rethinking Integration in the Global Era. The Immigrant and the City. Villa La Pietra, NYU Florence, March 23, 2009.

Immigration and the Future of Education. UNCW Leadership Lecture Series. University of North Carolina at Wilmington, February 9, 2009.

Exploring Immigration. Keynote Address, State University of New York at Old Westbury. February 5, 2009.

Learning a New Land: Mixed Methods in the Study of Immigration. UCLA Graduate School of Education and Information Studies, January 30, 2009.

Immigration and Universal Human Rights. Hope, Critique & Possibility: Universal Rights in Societies of Difference on the 60th anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Harvard Law School, Cambridge, MA, November 20, 2008.

The Perfect Storm: Immigration, Schools and the State. Keynote Address. Bertelsmann Foundation 11th Conference on School Developments in Germany, Gurtersloh, Germany, November 11, 2008.

Mass Migration: The Human Face of Globalization. Keynote Address. Migration: The Syracuse University Symposium. Syracuse, New York, October 28, 2008.

Learning a New Land: Immigrant Youth and the Globalization of America. Keynote Address, The 25th Symposium Lecture Series, Center for Multicultural Education, University of Washington, Seattle, WA, October 24, 2008.

Covering Immigration: Journalists and Scholars. Introductory Address. The Neiman Foundation for Journalism at Harvard University and Immigration Studies at NYU conference on Immigration Today, Cambridge, MA, October 3, 2008.

Interdisciplinary Reflections on Comparative Migration. Keynote Address. The President's Lecture Series, Western Connecticut State University, Danbury, CT, September 17, 2008.

The New Immigration to the United States. Dinner Address. United States Conference of Catholic Bishops. Washington, DC, July 28, 2008.

Global Flow: How Migration is changing the World. Dinner Address. The Board of Directors of the Western Union Company. The Peninsula Hotel, New York City, July 24, 2008.

Immigrant Youth: The Research Agenda. Keynote Address. The Funders Meeting of The Annie E. Casey Foundation. Baltimore, MA, June 23, 2008.

The New Inter-American Migration System. Keynote Address, The Western Union Latin American Agents Meeting, Panama City, Panama, June 3, 2008.

Immigrant Youth in Interdisciplinary Perspectives: New Findings from the LISA Study of the Harvard Immigration Projects. Keynote Address. Fundació Jaume Bofill, Barcelona, Spain, May 12, 2008.

Education, Globalization, and Culture. Keynote Address. CIIMU, the City Barcelona, and the University of Barcelona Symposium on Educacion, globalizacion e interculturalidad, Barcelona, May 15, 2008.

Immigrant Children, Youth, and Families: New Findings from the LISA Study. Cornell University's National Children, Youth and Families at Risk (CYFAR) Conference, San Antonio, Texas, May 8, 2008.

Psycho-Social Reflections on Immigration Today. Keynote Address. Immigration and HIV/AIDS. New York. St. Vincent's Hospital and NYU Hospital, The Kimmel Center, New York University, May, 2, 2008.

Immigration and American Democracy. The Lawrenceville School Senior's Capstone Lecture. Princeton, NY, April 15, 2008.

Immigration and Globalization. Class of '48 Lecture, the Burgin Center's Simon Theatre, Mercersburg Academy, Mercersburg, PA, April 14, 2008.

Why Migrate? Keynote Address. The First Year Experience, SUNY Old Westbury, NY, April 7, 2008.

Immigration and the Law: Comparative Reflections. Invited Address, New York University School of Law, NY, April 4, 2008.

Immigration and Latin America Today. Keynote Address. The Honors College, Kent State University, Kent, Ohio, April 1, 2008.

Dual Language: A Passport to Global Citizenship. Keynote Address. New York City Department of Education Dual Language Symposium, New York University, NY, March 27, 2008.

Education for Citizenship in the Global Era (with Carola Suarez-Orozco, Howard Gardner and The Hon. Graziano Del Rio. Mayor of Reggio Emilia). Centro Internationale Loris Malaguzzi, Reggio Emilia, Italy, March 18, 2008.

Learning a New Land: Immigrant Students in American Society. Keynote Address. International Education Student Conference, New York University, NY, March 13, 2008.

Global Moves: How Migration is changing the World. Keynote Address. Western Union Kickoff Conference, Fort Lauderdale, FL, February 12, 2008.

Waves of Migration: Implications for Stakeholders in Business and Society. Keynote Address. Joint Meeting of the Contributions Council I and II, Arizona State University, Tempe, AZ, February 5, 2008.

Immigration, Education and Integration: The View from the United States. Invited address. The Bertelsmann Foundation Conference of Global Immigration, Education, and Integration, Berlin January 24, 2008.

Writing Immigration. Keynote Address. The Neiman Foundation for the Study of Journalism, Harvard University. Cambridge, MA, December 12, 2007.

Rethinking Immigration and Education. Keynote Address. Annual Meeting of the Texas Educational Agency Leadership Council, Dallas, TX, November 7, 2007.

Immigration and Education Today. Keynote Address. Grand Rapids Community College, Grand Rapids MI, October 24, 2007.

Integration and Education in the 21st Century. Invited Address at the German Foreign Office, Berlin, October 17, 2007.

Education for Globalization. Keynote Address. Pittsburgh Area Independent School Teachers' Association Annual Conference, Pittsburgh, PA, October 8, 2007.

Immigrants in the US Education System and Abroad. Keynote Address. Jobs for the Future Double the Numbers National Conference, Washington, DC, October 4, 2007.

What is Globalization? Keynote Address to the Faculty. The Ross School, East Hampton, New York. August, 20, 2007.

Migration Today; Reflections on the Mexican Experience in Longitudinal Perspective. (Carola Suárez-Orozco and Marcelo Suárez-Orozco). Keynote Address. Universidad Popular Autonoma del Estado de Puebla, Mexico, August 9, 2007.

Migration and Culture: A Dialogue for Integration. Roundtable with the Hon. Felipe González. Former Prime Minister of Spain, the Hon. Dominique de Villepin, Former Prime Minister of France, Joseph Stiglitz and others. The Atman Foundation, Madrid, Spain, June 15, 2007.

The Schooling Pathways of Immigrant Youth. Keynote Address. Jaume Bofill Foundation and Universitat Oberta de Catalunya, Barcelona, Spain, May 22, 2007.

The Access of Immigrants and Their Families to a Decent Standard of Living. Keynote Address. The Pontifical Academy of Social Sciences XVIII Plenary Session on Charity and Justice in the Relations Between Nations. Vatican City, May, 1, 2007.

The Education of Immigrant Students: 25 Years After Plyer v Doe. Invited Presidential Panel. AERA Annual Meeting, Chicago, Ill. April 10, 2007.

Good Work in the Global Era. Invited Fireside Chat – with Howard Gardner. AERA Annual Meeting, Chicago, Ill. April 9, 2007.

Global Moves: How immigration is transforming the U.S. Keynote Address. Department of Educational Leadership and Policy Studies, Southern Connecticut State University, New Haven, April 2, 2007.

Immigration and American Citizenship. The Weil Lecture on American Citizenship. University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, March 28, 2007.

Rethinking Latin American Immigration to the United States. Keynote Address. The Institute for the Study of the Americas, University College, London, March 14, 2007.

Immigration and the Family. Invited lecture. Annual Meeting of the National Center for Family Literacy. Orlando, FL, March 3, 2007.

Immigration and Education: The Texas Experience in Global Context. Keynote Address. Annual Meeting of the Texas Educational Agency Leadership Council, Austin, TX, January 10, 2007.

Race and Immigration: Challenges and Opportunities for the New American Majority. Moderator. El Museo del Barrio, New York, December 9, 2006.

Reflections on Global Migration: The US Case. Invited lecture. The Africa House Conference of International Migration, New York University, NY, December 5, 2006.

Migration and Education in the Global Era. Keynote Address. Annual Meeting of the Association for the Study of Higher Education, Anaheim, CA, November 3, 2006.

Immigration Reform. Keynote Address. New York University School of Law Conference on Immigration and the Law, New York, October 27, 2006.

Moving Stories: The Academic Pathways of Immigrant Youth (with Carola Suárez-Orozco). Keynote Address. The Askwith Forum at Harvard University, Graduate School of Education, Cambridge, MA, October 23, 2006.

Migration in the Americas. Keynote Address to School Assembly. Phillips Academy, Andover, MA, October 11, 2006.

Covering Immigration: What Every Journalist Needs to Know but is Afraid to Ask. Keynote Address. Neiman Foundation for Journalism at Harvard University, Cambridge, MASS, September 27, 2006.

Who is An American? The Immigration Debate After 9/11. Keynote Address. The Gerald R. Ford Presidential Museum and the Hauenstein Center for Presidential Studies, Grand Rapids, Michigan, September 19, 2006.

The New Immigration: Conceptual and Empirical Considerations. Keynote Address. Columbia Basin College Faculty Development Conference, Pasco, Washington, September 14, 2006.

Immigration Today: US Dilemmas and Options. Keynote Address. Kennesaw State University's Conference on Georgia's Undocumented Workforce, Kennesaw, Georgia September 8, 2006.

Education and the Challenges of Globalization. Keynote Address. Manhattan's Region 9 Principals and Senior Leadership Annual Conference. Stuyvesant High School New York, August 30, 2006.

Globalization and Education. Keynote Address. American Educational Research Association and Teachers College, Columbia University, New York, August 19, 2006.

Educating Students for the 21st Century. Keynote Address. National Conference of State Legislators. Nashville, TN, August 18, 2006.

Immigrants and the Achievement Gap (with Carola Suárez-Orozco). Invited presentation. The Achievement Gap Initiative at Harvard University. Kennedy School of Government, Cambridge, Massachusetts, June 19m 2006.

Rethinking Global Migration: New Realities, New Opportunities, New Challenges with the Hon. Mary Robinson, Former President of Ireland and Former UN High Commissioner for Human Rights and the Hon. Luis Ernesto Derbez, Foreign Minister of Mexico. New York University, New York, May 25, 2006.

Immigrant Students in the 21st Century. Keynote Address, The Massachusetts Elementary School Principals Association Annual Meeting, Cape Cod, Massachusetts, May 4, 2006.

Latin American Emigration Today: Data, Concepts, and Reflections. Keynote Address. International Migration: The Human Consequences of Globalization. Second Colloquium of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Pontifical Academy of Social Sciences, Mexico City, Mexico, March 27, 2006.

Global Migration Today: The Best of Times, The Worst of Times. Speakers on the Square Lecture. New York University, New York, March 23, 2006.

The Second Generation. Invited Lecture Delivered to the NYU School of Law, New York, March 21, 2006.

Immigration Policy Today: US Perspectives. Keynote Address Delivered to Visiting Dignitaries of the United States Department of State, New York City, March 16, 2006.

Globalization and Education. Keynote Address. Annual Meeting of the National Association of Independent Schools. Fleet Center, Boston MA, March 1, 2006.

The Latino Second Generation: What is New? What is Different? Keynote Address. The Young Latino Second Generation Conference. Telemundo/NBC, Nokia Theatre, New York City, February 28, 2006.

Globalization, Immigration and Education. Keynote Address. The Penn Ethnography Forum. University of Pennsylvania, PA, February 24, 2006.

Immigration and Education Today. Presentation to the Dean's Council, Steinhardt School of Education, New York University, New York, January 23, 2006.

Globalization and Education. Keynote Address. Join Workshop of the Pontifical Academy of Sciences and the Pontifical Academy of Social Sciences. Vatican City, November 17, 2005.

Educating the Global City, IGEMS Inaugural. The Great Hall, Cooper Union. New York City, November 1, 2005.

Rethinking the New Immigration. Invited Address. Centrum voor Sociale en Culturele Antropologie, Katholieke Universiteit te Leuven, Belgium, October 26, 2005.

Globalization, Immigration and Education: Some empirical findings and conceptual problems in an emerging field. Keynote Address. The Leuven Seminar on Globalization. Catholic University of Leuven, Belgium. October 25, 2005.

Globalization, Culture and Education. Keynote Address. The Antwerpen Seminar. Antwerp University, Belgium, October 24, 2005.

Doing Research on Diversity: The Fellows Forum. The National Academy of Education. Teachers College, Columbia University, New York, October 21, 2005.

Building the Harvard Immigration Projects. Invited Address, the National Academy of Education. Teachers College, Columbia University, New York, October 20, 2005.

Moving Stories: The Lives and Dreams of Immigrant Youth. Keynote Address. The Lynch School of Education. Boston College. Boston, MA, October 5, 2005.

Immigration Today: What Every Journalist Needs to Know. Keynote Address. The University of Maryland Journalism Fellows. September 28, 2005.

Globalization and Education in the Hartland. Keynote Address. The Omaha Public Schools. Omaha, Nebraska. September 27, 2005.

Exodo: Latin American Emigration and its Consequences. Keynote Address O BRASIL NO FLUXO DAS MIGRAÇÕES INTERNACIONAIS: SIMPÓSIO INTERNACIONAL, Universidade Pontifícia Católica de São Paulo. Brazil, September 17, 2005.

Immigrant Cultural Psychologies. Keynote Address. Department of Social Psychology, University of Sao Paulo. Brazil, September 16, 2005.

Beyond Tolerance: Globalization and Education in Troubled Times. Keynote Address. Facing History and Ourselves First Global Symposium. Boston, MA, August 11, 2005.

Education for All? The 25th Anniversary Tällberg Forum, Her Majesty Queen Silvia in attendance. Tällberg, Sweden, August 3, 2005.

Rethinking Latino Studies. Keynote Address. 2nd Annual Harvard Latino Studies Research Symposium. Harvard University, Cambridge, MA, May 13, 2005.

Everything you ever wanted to know about Cultural Psychology but were afraid to ask. The Monroe Stein Colloquium Lecture. New York University, Steinhardt School of Education. New York, April 28, 2005.

Globalization and Education: Reflections on John U. Ogbu's Contributions to a Future Field. The John U. Ogbu Memorial Lecture. Department of Anthropology. University of California, Berkeley, April 18, 2005.

Rethinking Immigration and Education in the Era of Accountability. Presidential Invited Session. American Educational Research Association. Montreal, Canada, April 15, 2005.

Education, Immigration, and Globalization: Diversity, Complexity and the Democratic Promise. Presidential Invited Session. American Educational Research Association. Montreal, Canada, April 12, 2005.

Interdisciplinary Reflections on the New Immigration. Invited Address. Department of Psychology. New School University. New York, April 7, 2005.

Global Understanding: Learning and Education in Troubled Times. Keynote Address. The First International Conference on Globalization and Learning. Stockholm, Sweden, March 18, 2005.

Moving Stories: Rethinking Immigration and Education in the Global Era. Keynote Address. Annual Meeting of the Sociology of Education Association. Asilomar, CA. February 19, 2005.

Psychosocial Perspectives on the New Immigration. Invited Address. Department of Community Psychology, New York University. February 14, 2005.

Immigration Today. Keynote Address. Emerson College Department of Performance Art Workshop on Immigration Today. January 27, 2005.

Globalization, Immigration and Education. A conversation between President John Sexton and Marcelo M. Suárez-Orozco. The Steinhardt School of Education and the Ross Institute. January 25, 2005.

Global Migration. Paper presented to the UN Secretary-General's First Annual Global Colloquium of University Presents. Columbia University. January 19, 2005.

Anthropological Reflections on the Sense of History. Invited Address. The Sense of History: Uses and Abuses of the Past. Club of 3. Schlosshotel Cecilienhof Am Neuen Garten, Potsdam, Germany. December 4, 2004.

Conceptual and Empirical Aspects of the New Immigration. Keynote Address Baruch College Workshop on Trends in Mexican Immigration to the United States. September 24, 2004.

Interdisciplinary Research in the Social Sciences. Keynote Address. Harvard University/LASPAU Conference on New Developments in the Social Sciences. Lamont Library, Harvard College. July 16, 2004.

Latino Paradoxes. Keynote Address (read in absentia). The Latino Health Paradox Conference. Harvard School of Public Health. June 24, 2004.

Beyond Tolerance. Co-convener and Presenter. The Ross Institute and the Survivors of the Shoah Visual History Foundation Workshop on Tolerance and Education. June 16, 2004.

Education and Globalization. Keynote Address. Globalization and Social Justice Conference. The Vatican's Pontifical Academy of Social Sciences and the Secretary of State, Mexico. June 4. 2004.

Immigration and Globalization: Interdisciplinary Perspectives. Keynote Address. Immigration Today Conference. Centrum voor Sociale en Culturele Antropologie, Katholieke Universiteit te Leuven (Belgium), June 1, 2004.

Reflections on Education and Globalization. American Academy of Arts and Sciences, Cambridge, MA. May 13, 2004.

Immigration: Three Paradoxes, Two Disciplines, One Claim. Invited Address. Department of Humanities and Social Sciences. Steinhardt School of Education. New York University, NY. March 23, 2004.

Thinking Inter-Disciplines. Invited Address. The Harvard Interdisciplinary Project. Project Zero, Harvard University, Cambridge, MA. March 18, 2004.

Immigration and Well-Being. Keynote Address. Loma Linda University, Loma Linda, California. March 11, 2004.

Immigration in the Study of Race, Culture and Power in the Educational Process. Invited Address. Teaching Race: Race, Culture and Power in the Educational Process. University of New Hampshire, NH. October 31, 2003.

Thinking Through Latino Immigration. Keynote Address. Morton College Faculty Day, Cicero, Ill. August 21, 2003.

Promoting Social Cohesion through Education. Invited Address. The Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD). Paris. July 3, 2003.

Immigration, Globalization, and Education. (Lectures in Berlin, Hamburg, Düsseldorf, Wiesbaden, and Munich). (Carola Suárez-Orozco and Marcelo M. Suárez-Orozco). Invited Lecture Tour Organized by the US Embassy, Germany. June 23-June 27, 2003.

Immigration and Education: Preliminary Findings from the Harvard Immigration Projects (Two Lectures). (Carola Suárez-Orozco and Marcelo M. Suárez-Orozco). Invited Lectures delivered to the City of Stockholm, Sweden. June 17 and 18, 2003.

Latinos: Remaking America. Invited Keynote Address. Dealing with Difference Summer Institute. Western Illinois University. Macomb, III. May 18, 2003.

Current Issues in Migration Policy. Invited presentation with the Hon. Dr. Rita Sussmuth, Former Speaker of the German Bundestag. The Goethe-Institut Inter Nationes. Boston, May 7, 2003.

Immigrants Mean Business. Invited Lecture. Harvard Business School. May 1, 2003.

Globalization and Child Development: The Research Agenda. Invited Address. The 2003 SRCD Biennial Meeting. Tampa, FL. April 26, 2003.

Global Moves: Migration, Education, Utopia, and Distopia. Keynote Address. Educational Democracy, Citizenship, and the New Immigration Conference. University of Illinois. Champaign Urbana, April 12, 2003.

Education, Culture and Immigration. Invited Address. The Weyland Public Schools, Weyland, MA, April 11, 2003.

The Handley Lecture on Human Values. Invited Address. The Pingry School, Martinsville, New Iersey. April 4, 2003.

Immigration and Education. (Three Lectures). (Marcelo Suárez-Orozco and Carola Suárez-Orozco). Invited lectures delivered to the East Hampton School District and the Ross Institute of New York. East Hampton, NY. March 21 and 22, 2003.

The Impact of HR I on Immigrant and English Language Learners. (Carola Suárez-Orozco and Marcelo M. Suárez-Orozco). Invited Address. The Aspen Institute Congressional Program. Montego Bay, Jamaica. February 18, 2003.

Latinos in the US: Academic Perspectives. Invited Address. The US-Spain Council. Madrid, February 6, 2003.

New Developments in Latin American Immigration to the United States. Invited Address. David Rockefeller Center for Latin American Studies Regional Office. Santiago de Chile. January 8, 2003.

Latinos in Cities. Invited Address. Invited Address. The Newark Public Library, Newark, NJ, October 3, 2002.

Remaking the Geography of California Identities. Invited Address. The Geography of California Identities Conference. Stanford University, April 26, 2002.

Latinos Mean Business. Invited Address. The David Rockefeller Center for Latin American Studies Corporate Partners Program. Harvard University, April 19, 2002.

Global Engagement: Immigrant Youth and the Process of Schooling (Carola Suárez-Orozco and Marcelo M. Suárez-Orozco). Fifth Roberta Grodberg Prize Lecture, 9th Biennial Meeting of the Society for Research on Adolescence. New Orleans, April 12, 2002.

A Kinder, Gentler Cultural Psychology for the New Millennium. Keynote Address. Boston Area Cultural Psychology Study Group. April 9: 2002.

Latinos: Remaking the Americans. Inaugural Address. David Rockefeller Center for Latin American Studies Symposium on "The Other Latinos." Harvard University, April 5, 2002.

Education, Culture, and Globalization. World Economic Forum Dinner Hosted by Mrs. Courtney Ross Holst Commentary with Her Highness Shiekha Mousa bint Nasser Al-Misnad, Emira of Qatar and the Honorable Hillary Rodham Clinton, and Howard Gardner. New York City, NY, February 1st, 2002.

Children and Violence: Psychocultural Perspectives. Invited Address. Harvard Children's Initiative. Harvard Faculty Club, Cambridge, MA, December 4, 2001.

Thinking through the Immigrant Paradox. Faculty Seminar. Department of Social Medicine, Harvard Medical School. Boston, MA, December 3, 2001.

Immigration and Education Reform. The Principal's Center Forum on Educational Reform. Harvard University Graduate School of Education. Cambridge, MA, November 9, 2001.

Law and Immigration After September 11. Law and Immigration Conference, Harvard Law School. Cambridge, MA, November 8, 2001.

Caribbeans on the Move: Comments on Recent Developments in the Study of Haitian Immigration. Conference on Haitian Immigration to the United States. David Rockefeller Center for Latin American Studies, Harvard University. Cambridge, MA, October 26, 2001.

Globalization: The Research Agenda. Keynote address delivered to Board of Directors, Cambridge College. The Rockefeller Bothers Conference Center at Pocantico, Tarrytown, New York. October 17th, 2001.

The New Anthropology of Immigration: Comparative Reflections of Recent Developments in Latin American, Caribbean, and Asian Immigration. Advanced Seminar. School for American Studies, Santa Fe, New Mexico. October 10, 2001.

Rethinking Culture: Immigration, Assimilation, and Acculturation in the Global Era. Keynote Address. The Federal Reserve Bank of Boston 46th Economic Conference on Seismic Shifts: The Economic Impact of Demographic Change. Chatham, MA. June 12, 2001.

The New Immigration: Some Interdisciplinary Reflections. Invited Address. The Harvard Club of New York City, May 24, 2001.

Psychosocial Perspectives on the Children of Immigration. Invited paper read to the Judge Baker Children's Center, Harvard Medical School. May 16, 2001.

Thinking Through the New Census. Invited Address. The Advisory Committee Meeting of the David Rockefeller Center for Latin American Studies, Harvard University. Cambridge, MA, May 12, 2001.

Rethinking Mexican Immigration to the US. Invited paper read to the conference on the Changing Agenda of the U.S.-Mexico Relationship. David Rockefeller Center for Latin American Studies, Harvard University. Cambridge, MA, April 23, 2001.

Immigrant Children: What We Know and Know We Know It. Invited paper read to the Annual Meeting of the American Educational Research Association. Seattle, Washington, April 11, 2001.

Reflections on Immigration and (Homo)Sexuality. Invited Address. Passing Lines: Immigration and (Homo)Sexuality Conference. David Rockefeller Center for Latin American Studies, Harvard University. Cambridge, MA, April 5, 2001.

The Longitudinal Study of Immigrant Lives: An Introduction to the Longitudinal Immigrant Student Adaptation Study. Invited Address. The Murray Research Center for the Study of Lives. Radcliffe Institutes for Advanced Study, Cambridge, MA, March 20, 2001.

Global Acts: Immigrant Children, Education, and the Post-National. Invited paper read to the Visiting Committee, Harvard Graduate School of Education, Cambridge, MA, March 14, 2001.

Thinking Through Globalization. Invited Address. Joint meeting of the Centers for Asian American Studies, Latin American Studies, and Latino Studies, University of Massachusetts, Amherst, MA, February 15, 2001.

Recent Theoretical Currents in the Study of Immigration. Invited paper read to the Immigration and Religion Interfaculty Initiative, Harvard University, Cambridge, MA, December 13, 2000.

Rethinking the Urban. Invited paper read to the Dean's Weekend, Graduate School of Education, Harvard University, Cambridge, MA, December 2, 2000.

Educational Challenges for Haitian Immigrant Youth: Perspectives from the Harvard Immigration Projects. Invited Address. The Haitian Studies Association Meeting Twelfth Annual Conference. West Palm Beach, Florida, October 25th, 2000.

Childhood Depression Among Immigrants. Invited paper read to the Childhood Depression Research Center. Judge Baker Children's Center, Harvard Medical School. October 18, 2000.

Freedom and Responsibility in the Global Era of Migrations and Transnationalism. Keynote Address. Freedom and Responsibility: A National Conference of the Association Montessori Internationale. Boston, MA. July 23, 2000.

Immigration Today. Invited Address. The International Press Institute. Boston, MA, May 2, 2000.

Immigration and the Blurring of Boundaries. Paper read to the invited session on 'Blurred Boundaries: The Cultural Politics of Racial Identity in the New Millennium.' American Educational Research Association. New Orleans, LA, April 25, 2000.

Immigrant Students in the Cusp of the New Millennium. American Educational Research Association. New Orleans, LA, April 24, 2000.

Latinos in the United States: The Research Agenda. Invited Address. The Center for US Studies, Universidad de la Habana, Cuba. April 19, 2000.

Keynote Address. The Second Institute on Cultural and Linguistic Diversity. Brown University, Providence, RI, April 10, 2000.

Latinos in the 21st Century: Introduction. Latinos in the 21st Century: Mapping the Research Agenda, David Rockefeller Center for Latin American Studies, Harvard University. Cambridge, MA, April 6, 2000.

Latinos in the United States: The Research Agenda. Invited Address. People en Español, Time-Warner. New York City, NY, March 3, 2000.

Keynote Address. Spencer Foundation Conference on the Role of Educational Ethnography in Pedagogy. University of Huston, TX, February 11, 2000.

Assimilation: Distopia, Utopia, and In-Between. Invited paper read to the Social Science Research Council Workshop on Ethnic Customs, Assimilation, and American Law. Phoenix, AZ, January 14, 2000.

Assimilation: Who Needs It? Invited paper read to the Russell Sage Foundation. New York City, January 5, 2000.

Rethinking Identity. Invited paper read to the Harvard Haitian Alliance Conference on The Haitian Identity Crisis: Cultural Pride and Preservation or Denial and Assimilation. Lowell House, Harvard University. December 16, 1999.

Identities and Styles of Adaptation: Theoretical Reflections on the First Wave of Data from the Harvard Immigration Project. Invited paper read to the Annual Meeting of the American Anthropological Association. Chicago, IL, November 21,1999.

Reflections on Hate Crimes. Invited Paper read to the Harvard Foundation Panel on Hate Crimes in America: The Search for Solutions. Sanders Theater, Harvard University. November 10, 1999.

EU-USA Border Controls: Some Comparative Considerations. Invited Paper read to the Workshop on Border Control, State Power and Economic Integration: Perspectives from Europe and North America. Weatherhead Center for International Affairs, Harvard University. June 5, 1999.

The New Bostonians: Immigration and the Sociocultural Remaking of an American Metropolis. The Lowell Lecture. The Bostonian Society, Old State House, Boston. May 4, 1999.

Some Theoretical Considerations in the Study of Immigration. Invited Paper read to the Weatherhead Center for International Affairs, Harvard University. April 29, 1999.

Immigrant Children: What Do We Know? What Do Schools Need to Do? Keynote Address. All Means All Conference. The School District of Philadelphia. March 13, 1999.

The Children of Immigrants: Everything You Ever Wanted to Know About Assimilation but Were Afraid to Ask. Invited Paper read to the Chicano/Latino Policy Project. Institute for the Study of Social Change, University of California, Berkeley. March 5, 1999.

Getting It Right About Immigrant Children's Development: Some Interdisciplinary Reflections. Invited Paper read to Conference on Getting It Right about Children's Development: The Influences of Nurture and Nature. Harvard Children's Initiative and the American Academy of Arts and Sciences. February 5, 1999.

Writing Immigration: Interdisciplinary Observations. Invited paper read to the Conference on Writing Immigration: Academic and Journalistic Perspectives. David Rockefeller Center for Latin American Studies, Harvard University. December 10,1998.

Immigration and Population in Psychocultural Perspectives. Invited paper read to the Annual Meeting of the American Anthropological Association. Philadelphia, PA, December 4,1998.

Interdisciplinary Approaches to the Study of Immigration. Invited paper read to the Annual Meeting of the American Anthropological Association. Philadelphia, PA, December 4,1998.

Immigration and the 'Free Exercise of Culture.' Invited paper read to the Social Science Research Council Workshop on the Free Exercise of Culture. Stanford, CA, November 6,1998.

Psychocultural Approaches to Immigration Research. Invited paper read to the program in Medical Anthropology, Department of Anthropology, Harvard University. October 30, 1998.

Latin American Immigration to the United States. Invited paper read to the Conference on the United States, Latin America, and Europe: Analysis of the New Agenda. First Annual Hewlett Conference on Latin America, University of London and the David Rockefeller Center for Latin American Studies, Harvard University. October 17, 1998.

Immigration Today: Theoretical Problems in the Study of Children. Keynote address, Urban Superintendents Program Advisory Committee, Harvard University Graduate School of Education. October 8, 1998.

Anthropological Perspectives in the Study of Immigrant Children. Invited paper read to the Workshop on Immigrant Children. Bendheim Thoman Center for Research on Child Wellbeing, Office of Population Research, Princeton University. May 8, 1998.

Culture and the Education of Immigrant Children. Invited paper read to the American Educational Research Association, San Diego, California. April 17, 1998.

Everything You Ever Wanted To Know About Transnationalism but Were Afraid to Ask. Invited paper read to the Conference on Transnationalism and the Second Generation, Harvard University. April 4, 1998.

The Cultural Psychology of Immigration: Implication for Psychiatry. Invited paper read to the Department of Psychiatry Harvard University. April 6, 1998.

Latin American Immigration to the United States: Some Interdisciplinary Observations. Invited paper read to the Institute of Latin American Studies, University of London. March 6, 1998.

The Anthropological Study of Immigration: Reflections on a Decade of Research. Invited paper read to the Institute of Latin American Studies, University of London. March 11, 1998.

Rethinking the Study of Identity: Some Interdisciplinary Reflections. Invited paper read to the Children's Studies Conference on Youth, Identity, and Achievement, Harvard University, February 27, 1998.

Crossings: Some Interdisciplinary Reflections on the New Immigration. Invited paper read to the Joint Seminar of the Administrative Fellows, Harvard University, January 21, 1998.

Three Anthropological Themes in the Study of Immigration. Invited paper read to the Instituto Nacional de Antropología, Buenos Aires, Argentina. December 22, 1997.

North-South Relations: The Issue of Latin American Immigration to the United States. Invited paper read to the Harvard Club of Argentina, Buenos Aires, Argentina. December 18, 1997.

The Cultural Psychology of the Second Generation. Invited paper read to the Second Generation Symposium. The Jerome Levy Economics Institute of Bard College, New York. October 24, 1997.

Some Thoughts on the New Immigration: Implications for Issues of Education Research. Keynote speech read to the conference on Immigration and Education: Issues and Research. Spencer Foundation/UCLA. August 8, 1997.

Social Violence in Interdisciplinary Perspective. Invited paper read (in absentia) to Biannual Meeting of the Society for Psychological Anthropology, San Diego, CA. August 7, 1997.

The Impossible Professions: Rethinking Psychoanalysis and Social Theory. Invited paper read to the conference on Mothering: Diverse Families, Diverse Theories. Women's Studies Program, Brandeis University, April 13, 1997.

Psychodynamic and Cultural Factors in Immigrant Adaptation. Invited paper read to the conference on Immigration and the Sociocultural Remaking of the North American Space. David Rockefeller Center for Latin American Studies, Harvard University, April 12, 1997.

Immigration: The Next Fifty Years. Invited keynote speech read at the opening of the first Immigration Center of the Children's Aid Society, New York, New York. March 13, 1997.

Immigration and the 'New' New Yorkers. Invited paper read to the Harvard Club of New York, March 13, 1997.

Everything You Ever Wanted to Know About Immigration but Were Afraid to Ask. Invited paper read to the Monthly Latin American Faculty Luncheon, David Rockefeller Center for Latin American Studies, Harvard University. March 6, 1996.

Immigration Today: The Grammar of a Transnational Malaise. Invited paper read to the NPI, Department of Psychiatry, University of California, Los Angeles, January 23, 1997.

What do Immigrants Want? What does Los Angeles Want? Invited paper read to the Harvard Club of Los Angeles, January 23, 1997.

State Terrors: Immigration in Comparative Perspective. Paper presented to the Annual Meeting of the American Anthropological Association. San Francisco, CA, November 20, 1996.

Immigration and the Socio-Cultural Remaking of the North American Space: Implications Schooling in the 21st Century. Invited paper read to the Initiatives for Children, American Academy of Arts and Sciences, Cambridge, November 16, 1996.

The New Immigration: Implications for Schooling and Society. Invited paper read to the 24th Annual Conference of the Texas Association for Bilingual Education, Fort Worth, Texas, November 15, 1996.

Comparative Perspectives on the 'New Immigration.' Invited paper read to the Asian American Studies Center, University of Houston, Texas, November 14, 1996.

Psychological Anthropology Today. Invited paper read to 'The Power of Ideas' Speaker Series, Wheelock College, Boston, November 13, 1996.

Immigration and Socio-Cultural Remaking of American Democracy: Perspectives from Cultural Psychology. Invited paper read to the Program in Human Development Colloquium Series, Department of Psychology, Boston University, October 30, 1996.

Is the New Immigration Good for America? Is the New America Good for Immigrant Children? Research on the Schooling and Mental Health of Immigrant Children. Invited paper read to the Judge Baker Center, Children's Hospital, Harvard Medical School, October 23, 1996.

Immigrants and Refugees in the Space of Post Nationality. Invited paper read to the international conference on Civilization and Its Enduring Discontents: Violence and Aggression in Psychoanalytic and Anthropological Perspective. Bellagio Study and Conference Center, Como, Italy. September 2-6, 1996.

Cultures Under Siege/Migrants Under Siege. Invited paper read to the international conference on Cultures Under Siege: Psychological Anthropology on Violence and Aggression in the Late Twentieth Century in Celebration of the 360th Anniversary of Utrecht University. Utretch, The Netherlands. August 29-30, 1996.

New Psychologies, Old Psychologies, Cultural Psychologies. Invited paper read to the international conference on New Psychologies. Stonefield Castle, Tarbert, Loch Fyne, Scotland. June 28-July 1, 1996.

Immigration and the Collective Anxieties at the End of the Century. The Norbert Elias Lecture. Amsterdam School for Social Science Research, The Netherlands. May 28, 1996.

The Cultural Psychology of Growing Up Latino in America. Invited paper read to the session Growing Up American: Dilemmas of the New Second Generation. The American Association for the Advancement of Science Annual Meeting, Baltimore. February 10, 1996.

Immigration and Schooling in Contemporary Societies. Invited paper read to the Culture, Psychology, and Education Conference, Harvard Graduate School of Education. January 12, 1995.

The Political, Cultural, and Psychological Aspects of Immigration. Invited paper read to the Workshop on the Political and Cultural Aspects of Immigration in America, Harvard College. December 9, 1995.

Writing a Grammar of Immigration. Invited paper read to the Monthly Latin American Faculty Luncheon, David Rockefeller Center for Latin American Studies, Harvard University. December 7, 1995.

Socio-Cultural Distopia and the Issue of Diversity. Invited paper read to the Conference Achievement: The Bell Curve is Not and Explanation. The Principals' Center, Harvard Graduate School of Education. October 5, 1995.

The Cultural Psychology of Immigration. Invited paper read (in absentia) to the Workshop on International Migration, Human Services Policies and Health. Granada, Spain, May 25 & 26, 1995.

Psychocultural Perspectives on Anti-Immigration. Invited paper read to the Conference on Psychoanalytic Perspectives on Neo-Fascism & Anti-Immigration Politics: Trends in Europe and the United States. Co-sponsored by the San Francisco Psychoanalytic Institute's Extension Division; the University of California at Berkeley's Center for Western European Studies, Doreen B. Townsend Center for the Humanities, and the Health and Medical Sciences Program. Alumni House, University of California, Berkeley May 6 & 7, 1995.

Impossible Attachments: The Need for Strangers and the Immigration Malaise. Invited paper presented to the Department of Anthropology, Harvard University, May 1, 1995.

What is Exclusion Anyway? A Psychocultural Approach to the Other Side of Inclusion. Invited paper presented to the Principals' Center Spring Conference, "What is Inclusion Anyway?" Harvard University Graduate School of Education, April 27, 1995.

Immigrant Families: A View from Cultural Psychology. Invited paper presented to the Department of Child Study, Tufts University, April 13, 1995.

Transformations: Generational Discontinuities of Immigration in Transnational Perspective. Tenure Review Lecture read to the Harvard University Graduate School of Education, April 6, 1995.

Psychoanalysis and Culture. Invited paper read to the Department of Human Development and Psychology, Harvard University Graduate School of Education, March 2, 1995.

Immigration: Setting the Context. Invited paper read to the Harvard Forum In or Out? Immigration and Proposition 187. Harvard University Graduate School of Education, February 15, 1995.

Language Minority Adolescents and School Success. Invited paper read to the Conference on Academic Achievement for Urban Adolescents. Harvard University Graduate School of Education, February 4, 1995.

California Dreaming: Proposition 187 and the Immigration Delirium. Invited paper read to the Colloquium in Human Development, Department of Human Development and Psychology, Harvard University Graduate School of Education, December 12, 1994.

Migration and Motivation. Invited paper read to the Russell Sage Foundation. New York City, November 17, 1994.

Recent Themes in Cultural Psychology. Paper read to the Boston Area Cultural Psychology Forum. Harvard University Graduate School of Education, October 14, 1994.

Migration and the Development of Interethnic Group Relations. Paper read to the Research Symposium on the Development of Interethnic Group Relations During Childhood and Adolescence. Carnegie Council on Adolescent Development. Washington, DC, September 29, 1994.

Democracy and Difference in the Post-Utopian Moment. Paper read (in absentia) to the International Conference on Democracy and Difference. University of Cape Town, South Africa, May 5-7, 1994.

The Organization of Hatred. Paper read to the University of California Interdisciplinary Psychoanalytic Consortium, UCLA Lake Arrowhead Conference Center, April 22-24, 1994.

Ethnic Malaise: Schooling Immigrants and Refugees in a Post-Utopian Moment. Paper read to the Department of Human Development, Harvard University, March 23, 1994.

Ethnographic Perspectives in Educational Analysis. Paper read to the International Workshop on Ethnographic Perspectives in Educational Analysis in the 1990s (Jointly Sponsored by the Unité de Sociologie de L'éducacion, CNRS, Paris and the Fundación "la Caixa"). Barcelona, Spain, October 29, 1993.

Immigrant Cultural Psychology: Methodological Considerations. Paper read to the Department of Social Psychology, University of Barcelona, Spain, October 27, 1993.

Terror at the Fin de Siècle: The Systematization of Hatred in a Paranoid Era. Invited Paper read to the Biannual Meeting of the Society for Psychological Anthropology, Montreal, Canada, October 8, 1993.

Migration and Urban Education: The View from Brussels. Paper read (in absentia) to the Research Workshop on Educational Change and Educational Knowledge. Department of Curriculum and Instruction. University of Wisconsin, Madison, WI, June 18, 1993.

Latino Cultural Psychology: Family Life and the Patterning of Achievement Motivation Among Mexicans, Mexican Immigrants, Mexican Americans, and non-Hispanic "Mainstream" Adolescents. Paper presented to the Department of Psychology, University of California, Santa Cruz, CA, May 17, 1993.

Terror and Mimesis in the Continent of the 'Disappeareds.' Paper presented to the Center for Latin American Studies, University of California, Berkeley, CA, April 26, 1993.

Quo Vadis Anthropology? Partial Answers and a Guided Tour of Violin Playing in Four Cultures. Paper presented to the 'Wednesday Evening Seminar,' Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences, Stanford, CA, April 14, 1993.

Anxious Neighbors: Immigrant Minorities in Belgium. Paper presented to the Research Workshop on Controlling Illegal Immigration: A Global Perspective. Center for U. S. - Mexican Studies, University of California, San Diego, La Jolla, CA, March 18-20, 1993.

Latino Immigrants in Urban Schools: Psycho-Cultural Perspectives. Paper presented to the Conference on Immigrant Students in California Schools. Center for U.S.-Mexican Studies, University of California, San Diego, La Jolla, CA, January 23, 1993.

Hot Wars, Cold Wars, Dirty Wars: Mourning and Memory in the Continent of the 'Disappears.' Paper presented to the Faculty Colloquium, Department of Anthropology, Stanford University, CA, October 19, 1992.

Immigrants in the U. S and Europe: A Framework for Comparison. Invited paper presented to the Graduate Group in Social Relations, University of California, Irvine, CA, May 7, 1992.

Minority Status and Urban Education: A Theoretical Framework for Comparisons. Paper presented to the Annual Meeting of the American Educational Research Association. San Francisco, CA, April 22, 1992.

Variability in Minority School Performance: Comments on Recent U. S. and European Findings. Invited paper presented to the Annual Meeting of the American Educational Research Association. San Francisco, CA, April 23, 1992.

Tortured Bodies: Towards a Semiotics of the Unspeakable. Invited paper presented to the Body Image: A Cross-Cultural Perspective Conference. The UCLA Center for Pacific Rim Studies, University of California, Los Angeles, CA, April 4, 1992.

The Cultural Psychology of Hispanic Immigrants: Implications for Educational Research. Invited paper presented the Cultural Diversity: Implications for Schools and Learning Conference. Center for Research on the Context of Secondary School Teaching, School of Education, Stanford University, Stanford, CA, October 5, 1991.

Die Grammatik des Terrors: psychosoziale Aspekte der Teleologie des Überlebenden. Fallbeispiele in den USA lebender Jugendlicher aus Mittelamerika. Invited paper presented to the Fifth Annual Meeting of the Congress on Culture and Psychosocial Conditions in Latin America. Department of Psychiatry, University of Hamburg, Germany, September 20, 1991.

Migration, Mental Health, and Education: Recent Developments in United States and European Research. Invited paper presented to the Biennial Congress of the World Federation for Mental Health. Mexico City, Mexico, August 19, 1991.

Educating Migrant Youths in Europe and the United States. Invited paper presented at the congress on Advances in Education. Universidad de las Americas, Mexico City, Mexico, August 17, 1991.

The Anthropology of Diversity. Invited paper presented to the IRA Lecture Series, College of Health and Human Services, San Diego State University, San Diego, CA, February 26, 1991.

Studying Fantasy Cross-Culturally: The Thematic Apperception Test in Anthropological Research. Invited paper presented to the Institute of Personality Assessment and Research, University of California, Berkeley, CA, February 19, 1991.

Culture, Society and Schooling in Plural Settings: Comparative Dilemmas and Opportunities in the 1990s. Invited paper presented to the conference on Recent Contributions to the Study of Culture, Society and Schooling in Plural Societies. Division of Education, University of California, Davis, CA, October 12, 1990.

Latin American Systems of Terror and their Aftermath: Anthropological and Psychological Perspectives. Invited paper presented to the conference on Children in War. Sigmund Freud Center, Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Israel, June 26, 1990.

Some Psychocultural Strategies for Research with Children in War. Invited paper presented to the conference on Children in War. Sigmund Freud Center, Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Israel, June 27, 1990.

Psychological Responses to Political Terror: The Argentine 'Dirty War' Paradigm. Paper presented to the Psychoanalytic Interdisciplinary Seminar. Department of Psychiatry, School of Medicine, University of California, San Diego, CA, June 12, 1990.

Comments on the Japanese Experience in Latin America. Invited paper presented to the conference on Japan's Relations with Latin America: Implications for the United States. Center for Iberian and Latin American Studies, University of California, San Diego, CA, April 27, 1990.

The Uncanny in the Continent of the 'Disappeareds:' From Mourning to Political Discourse in 'Dirty War' and Post 'Dirty War' Argentina. Paper presented to an invited session of the American Ethnological Society, Atlanta, GA, April 26, 1990.

Addressing Issues of Race and Culture in the Education of Minority Students: Some Reflections on Current U.S. and European Scholarship. Invited paper presented to the conference on Addressing Issues of Race, Culture & Gender in the Education of Minority Students. Southwest Center for Educational Equity. Palo Alto, CA, March 23rd, 1990.

Recent Currents in Cultural Anthropology. Invited paper presented to the Annual meeting of the International Baccalaureate Society. Los Angeles, CA, February 5th, 1990.

Celebrating Diversity: Minority Status and Educational Dilemmas in Europe and the U.S.-Thoughts on Cross-Cultural Comparisons. Paper presented to the Celebrating Diversity Conference. California State Department of Education, State of California. Oakland, CA, January 19th, 1990.

Race, Ethnicity and Schooling: Current Themes in U.S. and European Research Findings. Paper presented to the Symposium on Race, Ethnicity and Schooling. Division of Education and Center for Cooperative Educational Research, University of California, Davis, CA, January 26th, 1990.

Towards a Psychosocial Understanding of Responses to Terror: The Case of New Arrivals from Central America in a U.S. Inner City. Paper presented to the Research Seminar, Center for US-Mexican Studies. University of California, San Diego, CA, May 31st, 1989.

Migration, Minority Status and the Future of Europe: Notes on the Prospectives of Cross-Cultural Comparisons. Paper presented to the Migration and Autonomy Colloquium. Center for Western European Studies, Institute of International Studies. University of California, Berkeley, CA, March 28th, 1989.

The Anthropology of Terror. Paper presented to a session of the American Anthropological Association 87th Annual Meeting, Phoenix, AZ, November 16-20, 1988.

A Grammar of Terror: Psycho-Cultural Responses to State Terrorism in 'Dirty War' and Post 'Dirty War' Argentina. Paper presented to an invited session of the American Anthropological Association 87th Annual Meeting, Phoenix, AZ, November 16-20, 1988.

Culture and Motivation. Paper presented to the Graduate School of Education, Stanford University, Stanford, CA, June 8th, 1988.

Psychocultural Aspects of Masculinity and Paternity in Latin America. Paper presented to the Conference on the Family. Department of Psychology, Sonoma State University, Sonoma, CA, May 14th, 1988.

Psychocultural Aspects of Motivation. Paper presented to the Dean's Seminar. Graduate School of Education, Stanford University, Stanford, CA, March 3rd, 1988.

Against all Odds: Hispanic Immigrants in Inner City Schools. Paper presented to the Stanford Dropout Conference. Stanford University, Stanford, CA, February 26th, 1988.

Survivors' Teleology and the Psycho-Cultural Exegesis of Human Motivation. Paper presented to a seminar of the Department of Anthropology, Princeton University, Princeton, NJ, February 5th, 1988.

Psychology and Culture in the Study of Human Motivation: A Theoretical Footnote from a Psycho-Social Ethnography. Paper presented to a seminar of the Department of Anthropology, University of California, Los Angeles, CA, January 6th, 1988.

'Becoming Somebody': Psycho-Cultural Aspects of Motivation among Central American Immigrants. Paper presented to a seminar of the Department of Anthropology, University of California, San Diego, CA, October 12th, 1987.

Some Psycho-Cultural Aspects of Human Motivation. Paper presented to a Symposium of the Linguistic Minority Research Institute, University of California, Santa Barbara, CA, May 16th, 1987.

The War to end all Worlds: Children and the Family in the Dirty Side of Argentina's 'Dirty War.' Paper presented to an invited session of the American Ethnological Society, San Antonio, TX, May 1st, 1987.

Hermes in the Barrios: A Psycho-Cultural Critique of Motivation Theory. Paper presented to the Department of Anthropology, The University of Chicago, Chicago, IL, April 27th, 1987.

Central Americans in the U.S.: A Study of Ethnic Adaptation and Adjustment. Paper presented to the Graduate School of Education, The University of Pennsylvania, PA, April 15th, 1987.

Sex and Power in Soccer and War: A Latin America Case Study. Paper presented to the University of California Symposium on Sex, Power and Sports: Male Perspectives. Berkeley, CA, April 2nd, 1987.

The Central American Culture of Terror in Thematic Apperception Narratives: A Psycho-Cultural Interpretation. Paper presented to a session of the 31st Annual Meeting of the Kroeber Anthropological Society. University of California, Berkeley, CA, March 7th, 1987.

Thinking About Motivation in Cultural Terms. Paper presented to the Office for Research on Educational Equity, Graduate School of Education, University of California, Santa Barbara, CA, February 27th, 1987.

Survival, Guilt and Achievement: Family Dynamics and the Psycho-Social Contexts of Motivation among Recent Immigrants from Central America. Paper presented to Educational Policy Studies, School of Education, University of Wisconsin-Madison, WI, June 1986.

Escape to Freedom: Intra-familial Dynamics among New Arrivals from War-torn Central America. Paper presented to the Anthropology Board of Studies, University of California, Santa Cruz, CA, May 1986.

Immigrant Adaptation: Theoretical Lessons from a Hispanic Case. Paper presented to an invited session of the American Anthropological Association 84th Annual Meeting, Washington, D.C., December 4-8, 1985.

Opportunity, Family Dynamics and Achievement: The Socio-Cultural Context of Motivation Among Recent Immigrants from Latin America. Paper presented to the University of California Symposium on Linguistic Minorities and Education. Tahoe City, CA, May 30th-June 1st, 1985.

International Migration and Psycho-Social Adaptation: The Case of the Hispanic Americans. Paper presented to the Symposium on Education and Cultural Identity: Hispanic America and Canada. Institute for International Studies, University of California, Berkeley, CA, April 1985.

A Psycho-Social Approach to Understanding Hispanic Adaptation to the U.S. Paper presented to a session of the American Anthropological Association 83rd Annual Meeting, Denver, CO, 1984.

Hispanic School Problems: An Anthropological Approach. Paper presented to a session of the Kroeber Anthropological Society 28th Annual Meeting, University of California, Berkeley, CA, 1984.

Macho Semiotics: The Image of Women in Latin American Male Folklore. Paper presented to a session of the Kroeber Anthropological Society 27th Annual Meeting, University of California, Berkeley, CA, 1983.

SERVICE

Chair of the Committee to Review the UCLA Vice Provost for Graduate Education & Dean of the Graduate Division. 2016.

Member of the Executive Advisory Board, UCLA David Geffen School of Medicine Center for Child Anxiety Resilience Education and Support [CARES], 2015-http://carescenter.ucla.edu/executive-advisory-board

Trustee, Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, 2015- http://bit.ly/1L|BKLk

Member of the Advisory Board, X-Prize Global Learning, 2015- http://bit.ly/1KnoWEV

Member of the Board, Stiftung Universität Hildesheim, Education Research and Teacher Quality in Germany, 2015-

Chair of the Committee to Review the UCLA Vice Provost for International Studies, 2014.

Member of the Committee to Review the UCLA Dean of Social Sciences, 2014.

Member of the UC Links Review Committee, University of California. Office of the President, 2013-

Member of the Search Committee, Dean UCLA Extension School, 2013.

Member of the International Scientific Advisory Board, EU Seven Nation Study, Reducing Early School Leaving in the European Union, Brussels, 2012-

EVC-Provost Dean's Council 2012-

Member of the Editorial Board, Aztlán: A Journal of Chicano Studies, 2012-

Member of the UC Links Proposals Review Committee, Office of the President, University of California, 2012.

Member of the Research Advisory Committee, National Academy of Education, 2011-2015.

Member of the Search Committee, UCLA Extension Dean Search, 2012-13.

Member of the Fellowships Committee, The Paul and Daisy Soros Fellowship for New Americans, 2011–2012.

Member of the Admissions Committee, Department of Humanities and Social Sciences in the Professions, New York University, 2006-2007, 2007-2008, 2008-2009, and 2009-2010.

Member of the Faculty Board, New York University Press, 2009-2012.

Member of the Executive Committee, Center for Latin American and Caribbean Studies, New York University, 2009-

Member of the University-Wide Faculty Advisory Committee on Academic Priorities, New York University, 2007-2008.

Member of the Committee to Review University Professors, New York University, 2008.

Member of the Search Committee, Department of Communications, New York University, 2006-2007.

Member of the Committee to Review University Professors, New York University, 2005.

Member of the University-Wide Faculty Advisory Committee on Academic Priorities, New York University, 2005-2006.

Member of the Search Committee for the Director, Institute for Human Development and Contextual Change, New York University, 2005-2006.

Member of the Search Committee, Department of Social and Cultural Analysis, Faculty of Arts and Sciences, New York University, 2005-2006.

Member of the Advisory Committee, The Modern Language Association, A Map of Languages in the United States. 2005-2009

Member of the International Scholars Board of Advisors. Facing History and Ourselves, 2005-

Member of the Board of Directors, The Ross Institute for Advanced Study and Innovation in Education, 2005-2010.

Member of the International Education Search Committee. New York University, 2005.

Honorary Member of the Board, Ethnos: Investigación y Divulgación en Ciencias Humanas. Barcelona, Spain, 2003-

Member of the Advisory Board, American Anthropological Association Initiative on Understanding Race and Human Variation, 2002-2004.

Member of the Editorial Advisory Board, Harvard Journal of Hispanic Policy, John F. Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University, 2002-2005.

Member of the Graduate School of Education Dean Search Advisory Committee, Harvard University, 2001-2002.

Member of the Graduate School of Education Human Development and Psychology Search Committee, Harvard University, 2001-2002.

Member of the Harvard Committee on Employment and Contracting Policies ("Living Wage Committee"). (Senior Faculty Representative), Harvard University, 2001.

Member of the Gender Studies Advisory Committee, Harvard University Graduate School of Education, 2001.

Member of the Advisory Committee, Research Program on Cultural Contact, Russell Sage Foundation, 2001-2003

Member of the Series Advisory Board, Landscapes of Childhood, Wayne State University Press, 2000-2007.

Member of the Professorial Advisory Committee, Judge Baker Children's Center, Harvard Medical School, 2000-2003.

Member of the Selection Committee, Harvard Fellows on Race, Culture and Education, Harvard University Graduate School of Education 2000-2001.

Member of the Board of Directors, Society for Psychological Anthropology, American Anthropological Association, 1998-2001.

Nominator, MacArthur Fellows Program, The John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation, 1999.

Member of the Task Force, Weatherhead Center for International Affairs, Harvard University, 1998-99.

Member of the Advisory Committee, The Henry A. Murray Research Center of The Radcliffe Institutes for Advanced Study, 1997- 2001.

Member of the Editorial Board, Educational Researcher, American Educational Research Association, 1999-2000.

Member of the International Scientific Board Revista Investigación en Salud, Guadalajara, Jalisco, México, 1999-.

Member of the Faculty Advisory Board, Harvard University Native American Program, 1999-2003.

Chair of the Search Committee, Department of Human Development and Psychology. Harvard University Graduate School of Education, 1998.

Member of the American Anthropological Association Cultural Diversity Publication Committee, 1997-98.

Member of the International Education Search Committee, Harvard University Graduate School of Education, 1996-97.

Member of the Policy Committee. David Rockefeller Center for Latin American Studies, Harvard University, 1996-2003.

Member of the Search Committee. The Robert F. Kennedy Visiting Professorship in Latin American Studies. Harvard University, 1996-2003.

Member of the Steering Committee, Risk and Prevention Program, Harvard University Graduate School of Education, 1995-96.

Advisory Editor, Encyclopedia of American Immigrant Cultures, Human Relations Area Files, Yale, 1995-1997.

Member of the International Advisory Council, Center for U.S.-Mexican Studies, University of California, San Diego, 1995-2001.

Member of the Program Advisory Committee, Spencer Foundation, 1995-1996.

Member of the Committee on Degrees, Harvard University Graduate School of Education, 1995-96 and 1996-97.

Member of the Faculty Recruiting Committee, Harvard University Graduate School of Education, 1995-96 & 1997-98.

Senior Advisory Review Panel, Cultural Anthropology, National Science Foundation, 1994.

Member of the Committee on International Education, Harvard University Graduate School of Education, 1994-1995.

Outside Ph. D. Examiner, Department of Social Psychology, University of Barcelona (Spain), July and October 1993.

Associate Editor, Anthropology and Education Quarterly, 1988 to 1992.

Member of the Academic Advisory Council, Center for U.S.-Mexican Studies, University of California, San Diego, 1988 to 1990.

Contributing Editor, The Journal of Psychohistory, 1988.

Member of the Advisory Committee, Center for Iberian and Latin American Studies [CILAS], University of California, San Diego, 1988 to 1995.

Member of the Faculty Graduate Group in Latin American Studies, CILAS, University of California, San Diego, 1988 to 1995.

Member of the Faculty Group in Teacher Education, University of California, San Diego, 1988-1995.

Member of the Executive Committee, CILAS, University of California, San Diego, 1989 to 1995.

Member of the Committee, Urban Studies Program, University of California, San Diego, 1990 to 1995.

Convening Member, Center for German and European Studies, University of California, Berkeley, 1991-1994.

Graduate Advisor, Department of Anthropology, University of California, San Diego, 1993 to 1994.

Undergraduate Advisor, Department of Anthropology, University of California, San Diego, 1988-1989 and 1989-1990.

AWARDS, FELLOWSHIPS, GRANTS & GIFTS

The Capital Campaign for UCLA GSE&IS (Chancellorian Goal of 70 Million by 2019; raised \$77 million by 2017)

Ford Foundation [Bridging the Compassion Gap] (Grant 2017-18, \$1,000,000)

Carnegie Corporation of New York [The UCLA School Network] (Grant 2016-2018, \$1,500,000)

Mrs. Courtney Ross [Humanism and Mass Migration] (Gift 2016, \$75,000)

Anonymous [Humanism and Mass Migration] (Gift 2016, \$50,000)

Spencer Foundation [Humanism and Mass Migration] (Grant 2016, \$35,000)

W. T. Grant Foundation [Humanism and Mass Migration] (Grant 2016, \$25,000)

Ford Foundation [Changing the Immigration Narrative] (Grant 2015-16, \$100,000)

The Spencer Foundation [Immigration, Social Cohesion, and Cultural Sustainability] Grant 2013-14, \$50,000)

Ford Foundation [The UndocuScholar Survey] (Grant 2013-14, \$100,000)

Anonymous [The UndocuScholar Survey] (Grant 2013-14, 32,000)

William T. Grant Foundation [The Role of Settings on Relational and Academic Engagement for Latino Community College Students] (Grant 2012-2013, \$25,000)

Ford Foundation [Research on Immigrants in Community College] (Grant 2011-12, \$350,000)

Carnegie Corporation of New York [Civic Trust and Engagement among Immigrant Youth: a Pilot Study] (Grant 2011-12, \$325,000)

William T. Grant Foundation [The Role of Settings on Relational and Academic Engagement for Latino Community College Students] (Grant 2010-2012, \$499,201)

The Richard Fisher Membership, Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton, NJ (Fellowship, 2009-2010)

Covering Immigration: Academic and Journalistic Perspectives. Western Union Foundation. (Grant 2008-2009, \$10,000)

Pathways to Opportunity for the Children of Immigrants in North America and Europe. Western Union Foundation. (Grant 2008-2009, \$75,000)

The Bank of Sweden Tercentenary Foundation (Riksbankens Jubileumsfond, RJ), Electrum Foundation / Kista Science City, Microsoft, Swedish Research Council (Vetenskapsrådet) (with others) [Globalization and Learning] (Grant 1.2 M. Swedish Crowns)

William T. Grant Foundation [Longitudinal Immigrant Student Adaptation] (Grant 2003-2004 \$15,000)

Mrs. Courtney Ross Holst [Education for Globalization] (Gift 2003, \$30,000)

William T. Grant Foundation [Longitudinal Immigrant Student Adaptation] (Grant 2003-2004 \$25,000)

Mrs. Courtney Ross Holst [Education for Globalization] (Gift 2002, \$70,000)

Harvard University Provost's Fund for Interfaculty Initiatives [Immigration and Well-Being] (Grant 2000-20001, \$75,000)

Rockefeller Foundation of New York City [The New Americas] (Grant 2002-2006, \$245,000)

David Rockefeller Center for Latin American Studies, Harvard University (with Howard Gardner) [Education for Globalization] (Grant 2002 \$5,000)

Dean's Venture Fund, Graduate School of Education, Harvard University (with Howard Gardner) [Education for Globalization] (Grant 2002, \$29,500)

Spencer Foundation (with Carola Suárez-Orozco) [Longitudinal Immigrant Student Adaptation] (Grant 2002-2003, \$380,800)

William T. Grant Foundation (with Carola Suárez-Orozco) [Longitudinal Immigrant Student Adaptation] (Grant 2001-2002 \$200,000)

Spencer Foundation (with Carola Suárez-Orozco) [Longitudinal Immigrant Student Adaptation] (Grant 2001-2002, \$50,000)

Spencer Foundation [Latinos in the 21st Century: Mapping the Research Agenda] (Grant 2000-2001, \$40,000)

Harvard University Provost's Fund for Interfaculty Initiatives [Latinos in the 21st Century: Mapping the Research Agenda] (Grant 2000-20001, \$10,000)

William T. Grant Foundation (with Carola Suárez-Orozco) [Longitudinal Immigrant Student Adaptation] (Grant 1999-2001, \$492,913)

Spencer Foundation (with Carola Suárez-Orozco) [Longitudinal Immigrant Student Adaptation] (Grant 1997-2002, \$479,100)

National Science Foundation (with Carola Suárez-Orozco) [Longitudinal Immigrant Student Adaptation] (Grant 1997-2002, \$768,129)

William T. Grant Foundation (with Carola Suárez-Orozco) [Longitudinal Immigrant Student Adaptation] (Grant 1997-2000, \$462.584)

Carnegie Corporation (with others) [Children's Studies at Harvard] (Grant, 1997-1999, over \$1,000,000).

David Rockefeller Center for Latin American Studies, Harvard University [Immigration and the Sociocultural Remaking of the North American Space] (Grant, 1997-1998)

The Center for International Affairs, Harvard University [New Developments in Mexican Immigration to the United States] (Grant, 1997-1998)

Bellagio Study and Conference Center, The Rockefeller Foundation, Como, Italy [Social Violence in Interdisciplinary Perspectives] (Residency Fellowship September, 1996)

Spencer Foundation [Migration and Urban Education: The Case of Mexican-Americans] (Grant, 1992-1993)

Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences, Stanford, (Fellowship 1992-1993)

Center for German and European Studies, University of California, Berkeley [Migration and Urban Education: U. S./ Europe Comparisons] (Grants, 1991-1992 and 1992-1993)

National Science Foundation (with others) [Controlling Immigration: A Global Perspective] (Grant, 1991-1993)

Mellon Foundation Grant [Comparative Political Economy of Immigration] (Grant, 1991-1992)

Chancellor's Summer Faculty Fellowship, University of California, San Diego (1990)

Academic Senate Research Grant, University of California, San Diego (1990)

University of California Consortium on Mexico and the United States [UC-MEXUS] Grants (Grants, 1990 and 1991)

Academic Senate Research Grant, University of California, San Diego (1989)

Academic Senate Research Grant, University of California, San Diego (1988)

American Educational Research Association (Division G) Best Doctoral Dissertation Award (1988)

Tinker Field Research Grant (1988)

The Robert H. Lowie Graduate Scholarship, University of California, Berkeley (1985-1986)

The University of California Regents Fellowship (1983-1984)

The Wollemberg Scholarship, University of California, Berkeley (1980)

Phi Beta Kappa

The Undergraduate and Graduate Scholastic Honor Society, University of California, Berkeley

HONORS

Member of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences (Elected April 2014)

The Virginia and Warren Stone Prize, Awarded Annually by Harvard University Press for an Outstanding Book on Education and Society, 2008

Orden Mexicana del Águila Azteca (The Mexican Order of the Aztec Eagle), 2006

New York's 25 Most Influential Hispanics El Diario, New York City, 2005

Member of the National Academy of Education (Elected April 2004)

America's 100 Most Influential Hispanics. Hispanic Business Magazine, 2001

Master of Arts, Honoris Causa, Harvard University (1995)

ALANA (African, Latino, Asian and Native American) Outstanding Faculty Member Recognition Award. Harvard University (1995)

Social Policy Book Award, Society for Research on Adolescents, 1996 (For Transformations: Immigration, Family Life, and Achievement Motivation Among Latino Adolescents. Carola E. and Marcelo M. Suárez-Orozco. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press. 1995)

The R. Boyer Award for Outstanding Research in Psychological Anthropology, University of California, Berkeley (1986)

COURSES

Fiat Lux Seminar: Reimagining Urban Education, UCLA
Globalization and Education, NYU Abu Dhabi
Culture and Human Development; Globalization and Education
Good Work in the Global Era (with Howard Gardner)
Psychological Anthropology; Cultural Psychology
Anthropology and Education;
Psycho-Social Problems in Changing Cultures;
Fieldwork Methods; Comparison of Cultures;
Immigration, Ethnicity, and Education;
Latino Cultures;
Introduction to Cultural Anthropology;
Latin American Societies and Cultures;
Contemporary Central America; Folklore;

Themes in Cross-Cultural Psychiatry (UCSD School of Medicine).

PERSONAL DATA

Citizenship: U.S. (born in Lomas de Zamora, Argentina, September 21, 1956)

Civil Status: Married to Carola Suárez-Orozco in January 1977. We have two children, Marisa Suárez-Orozco (born in San Francisco, CA, 12/31/1983) and Lucas Suárez-Orozco (born in San Diego, CA, 3/9/1990)

REFERENCES

Danielle Allen, Director, Edmond J. Safra Center for Ethics at Harvard University Professor, Department of Government and Graduate School of Education, Harvard University

James A. Banks, The Kerry and Linda Killinger Endowed Chair in Diversity Studies and Director of the Center for Multicultural Education at the University of Washington, Seattle

Gene Block, UCLA Chancellor

John H. Coatsworth, Provost of Columbia University

Howard Gardner, The John H. and Elisabeth A. Hobbs Professor of Cognition and Education, Harvard University, Graduate School of Education

Kathleen McCartney, President, Smith College

Gary Orfield, Professor of Education, Law, Political Science and Urban Planning & Co-Director, Civil Rights Project/Proyecto Derechos Civiles at UCLA

Cristina M. Rodríguez, Professor of Law, Yale Law School

Roberto Suro, Professor of Communication, the Annenberg School for Communication & Journalism; Professor of Policy, School of Policy, Planning and Development; and Director The Tomás Rivera Policy Institute University of Southern California

Scott Waugh, UCLA Provost and Executive Vice Chancellor

Mary Waters, The M. E. Zuckerman Professor of Sociology, Harvard University

* Refereed Publication

EXHIBIT U

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9	JEFFREY M. DAVIDSON (SBN 248620) ALAN BERSIN (SBN 63874) COVINGTON & BURLING LLP One Front Street, 35th Floor San Francisco, CA 94111-5356 Telephone: (415) 591-6000 Facsimile: (415) 591-6091 Email: jdavidson@cov.com, abersin@cov.com Attorneys for Plaintiffs The Regents of the University of California and Janet Napolitano, is her official capacity as President of the University of California THEODORE J. BOUTROUS, JR. (SBN 132099 ETHAN D. DETTMER (SBN 196046) JESSE S. GABRIEL (SBN 263137) GIBSON, DUNN & CRUTCHER LLP 333 South Grand Avenue Los Angeles, CA 90071-3197	JOSEPH W. COTCHETT (SBN 36324) NANCY L. FINEMAN (SBN 124870)	
11	Telephone: (213) 229-7000 Facsimile: (213) 229-7520	Email: nfineman@cpmlegal.com Attorneys for Plaintiff City of San Jose	
12	Email: tboutrous@gibsondunn.com, edettmer@gibsondunn.com,	JONATHAN WEISSGLASS (SBN 185008)	
13	jgabriel@gibsondunn.com Attorneys for Plaintiffs Dulce Garcia, Miriam	STACEY M. LEYTON (SBN 203827) ERIC P. BROWN (SBN 284245)	
14	Gonzalez Avila, Saul Jimenez Suarez, Viridiana Chabolla Mendoza, Norma Ramirez, and Jirayu	ALTSHULER BERZON LLP	
15	Latthivongskorn	San Francisco, CA 94108 Telephone: (415) 421-7151	
16		Facsimile: (415) 362-8064 Email: jweissglass@altber.com	
17		Attorneys for Plaintiffs County of Santa Clara and Service Employees International Union Local 521	
18	UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT		
19	NORTHERN DISTRICT OF CALIFORNIA SAN FRANCISCO DIVISION		
20	THE REGENTS OF THE UNIVERSITY OF	CASE NO. 17-CV-05211-WHA	
21	CALIFORNIA and JANET NAPOLITANO, in her official capacity as President of the	DECLARATION OF EMILY NISHI	
22	University of California,		
23	Plaintiffs,		
24	V.		
2526	U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HOMELAND SECURITY and ELAINE DUKE, in her official capacity as Acting Secretary of the Department of Homeland Security,		
27	Defendants.		
28			
	1		

1 2	STATE OF CALIFORNIA, STATE OF MAINE, STATE OF MARYLAND, and STATE OF MINNESOTA,	CASE NO. 17-CV-05235-WHA
3	Plaintiffs,	
4	V.	
5	U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HOMELAND	
6	SECURITY, ELAINE DUKE, in her official capacity as Acting Secretary of the Department of Homeland Security, and the UNITED	
7	STATES OF AMERICA,	
8	Defendants.	
9	CITY OF SAN JOSE, a municipal corporation,	CASE NO. 17-CV-05329-WHA
10	Plaintiffs,	
11	V.	
12	DONALD J. TRUMP, President of the United States, in his official capacity, ELAINE C.	
13	DUKE, in her official capacity, and the UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,	
14	Defendants.	
15	DULCE GARCIA, MIRIAM GONZALEZ	CASE NO. 17-CV-05380-WHA
16	AVILA, SAUL JIMENEZ SUAREZ, VIRIDIANA CHABOLLA MENDOZA,	CASE NO. 17-C V-03300-WIIA
17	NORMA RAMIREZ, and JIRAYUT LATTHIVONGSKORN,	
18	Plaintiffs,	
19	V.	
20	UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, DONALD	
21	J. TRUMP, in his official capacity as President of the United States, U.S. DEPARTMENT OF	
22	HOMELAND SECURITY, and ELAINE DUKE, in her official capacity as Acting	
23	Secretary of Homeland Security,	
24	Defendants.	
25		
26		
27		
28		

COUNTY OF SANTA CLARA and CASE NO. 17-CV-05813-WHA SERVICE EMPLOYEES INTERNATIONAL UNION LOCAL 521, Plaintiffs, V. DONALD J. TRUMP, in his official capacity as President of the United States, JEFFÉRSÓN BEAUREGARD SESSIONS, in his official capacity as Attorney General of the United States; ELAINE DUKE, in her official capacity as Acting Secretary of the Department of Homeland Security; and U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HOMELAND SECURITY, Defendants.

- I, Emily Nishi, declare and state as follows:
 - 1. I am over the age of eighteen and competent to testify.
 - 2. I am Chief People Officer at Lyft, Inc. ("Lyft"). I am responsible for managing the company's human resources strategy. I have been employed at Lyft since 2017.
 - 3. Lyft employs more than 1,000 employees in the State of California and more than 2,000 employees in the United States.
 - 4. At least one Lyft employee is a grantee under the Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals program ("DACA"), and we, like most large U.S. companies, believe that other employees may have chosen not to self-identify. This employee works as a software engineer and used to be located in California and is now located in Washington. If this employee loses his DACA status and is deported, Lyft will suffer great injury. He is one of our top engineers and is a key member of the team driving critical data projects. This employee's work has contributed significantly to Lyft and losing his talents and institutional knowledge would create a gap that would be difficult to quantify.
 - 5. Lyft connects millions of individuals of all backgrounds every day through the experience of sharing a ride. At a time when so many forces are driving division in our society, these shared moments of human connection can help bridge those gaps and bring people and communities together. At Lyft, we are working towards a community that is diverse, inclusive, and safe. These are fundamental values of our company and we will always stand with those fighting for them.

I declare under penalty of perjury under the laws of the United States that the foregoing is true and correct and that this declaration was executed on October 18, 2017, in San Francisco, California.

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EXHIBIT V

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18	LIMITED STATE	
19	UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT NORTHERN DISTRICT OF CALIFORNIA SAN FRANCISCO DIVISION	
20	THE REGENTS OF THE UNIVERSITY OF	CASE NO. 17-CV-05211-WHA
21 22	CALIFORNIA and JANET NAPOLITANO, in her official capacity as President of the University of California,	DECLARATION OF DR. JOHN D. STOBO
23	Plaintiffs,	
24	V.	
25	U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HOMELAND	
26	SECURITY and ELAINE DUKE, in her official capacity as Acting Secretary of the Department of Homeland Security,	
27	Defendants.	
28	Detendants.	

1	STATE OF CALIFORNIA, STATE OF MAINE, STATE OF MARYLAND, and	CASE NO. 17-CV-05235-WHA
2	STATE OF MINNESOTA,	
3	Plaintiffs,	
4	v.	
5	U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HOMELAND	
6	SECURITY, ELAINE DUKE, in her official capacity as Acting Secretary of the Department	
7	of Homeland Security, and the UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,	
8	Defendants.	
9	CITY OF SAN JOSE, a municipal corporation,	CASE NO. 17-CV-05329-WHA
10	Plaintiffs,	
11	v.	
12	DONALD J. TRUMP, President of the United States, in his official capacity, ELAINE C.	
13	DUKE, in her official capacity, and the UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,	
14	, in the second	
15	Defendants.	
16	DULCE GARCIA, MIRIAM GONZALEZ AVILA, SAUL JIMENEZ SUAREZ,	CASE NO. 17-CV-05380-WHA
17	VIRIDIANA CHABOLLA MENDOZA, NORMA RAMIREZ, and JIRAYUT	
18	LATTHIVONGSKORN,	
19	Plaintiffs,	
20	v.	
21	UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, DONALD J. TRUMP, in his official capacity as President	
22	of the United States, U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HOMELAND SECURITY, and ELAINE	
23	DUKE, in her official capacity as Acting Secretary of Homeland Security,	
24	Defendants.	
25		
26		
27		
28		
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COUNTY OF SANTA CLARA and CASE NO. 17-CV-05813-WHA SERVICE EMPLOYEES INTERNATIONAL UNION LOCAL 521, Plaintiffs, v. DONALD J. TRUMP, in his official capacity as President of the United States, JEFFERSON BEAUREGARD SESSIONS, in his official capacity as Attorney General of the United States; ELAINE DUKE, in her official capacity as Acting Secretary of the Department of Homeland Security; and U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HOMELAND SECURITY, Defendants. DECLARATION OF DR. JOHN D. STOBO

I, JOHN D. STOBO, DECLARE:

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I am Executive Vice President of University of California Health ("UC Health"). The

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- matters set forth herein are true and correct of my own personal knowledge and, if called as a witness, I could and would testify competently thereto. 2. I have been a physician for over 40 years. Prior to joining the University of California, I
- served as president at the University of Texas Medical branch from 1997 to 2007. Before that, I was the William Osler Professor of Medicine and Physician-in-Chief of the Johns Hopkins Hospital. I am a member of the Institute of Medicine, and I have held leadership positions in a wide variety of national professional organizations, including the American Association of Professors of Medicine, the American College of Rheumatology, the American Board of Internal Medicine and the American Board of Internal Medicine Foundation.
- 3. I have been working at the University of California ("UC") since October 2008. I am responsible for system-wide coordination and communication among UC's health sciences schools and medical centers, collectively referred to as UC Health.
- UC Health is the third largest healthcare provider in California, and has the nation's 4. largest health sciences educational system. UC Health educates over 50% of California physicians. I am responsible for policy development for UC's health system, and I monitor the performance for the system's 17 health sciences schools and 14 hospitals on five campuses.
- 5. UC Health's mission is to improve health and wellness and positively impact quality, cost and access to healthcare in California. UC Health measures this impact in part through community benefit: care for the under-insured and un-insured, education of medical professionals and future health leaders and medical research. UC Health, as part of the University of California's public service mission, aims to address the needs of all populations in California and educate a workforce that will be able to effectively serve populations with limited or unequal access to healthcare.
- 6. The rescission of the Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals ("DACA") policy threatens our ability to achieve this mission. UC Health medical schools have at least twelve DACA recipients. DACA recipients in UC's medical schools have unique potential to practice in critical geographic areas and specialties that might otherwise remain underserved. Without the DACA policy, these students will

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lose the employment authorization necessary to become medical residents and eventually practicing doctors that California needs.

- 7. There is an acute shortage of doctors in certain areas of California, including rural areas, the San Fernando Valley, and particular urban areas. The shortage is an issue across the U.S. and is projected to worsen through 2030. The challenge is one of distribution; physicians tend to become concentrated in more affluent areas and urban centers. There are also shortages of doctors in certain critical specialties, such as general surgery, general psychiatry, and primary care. Producing more doctors through larger classes or new medical schools will not alleviate these geographic and specialty distribution issues across California.
- 8. UC Health is focused on creating a workforce of physicians to address this shortage and, as such, carefully selects its entering classes to meet the anticipated healthcare needs of California in the decades to come. Achieving our mission means ensuring the students in the class transition into residency and then medical practice. For example, our Programs in Medical Education ("PRIME") program exemplifies the importance UC Health places on recruiting diverse and talented doctors committed to serving communities that need them in California. PRIME's purpose is to meet the needs of California's medically underserved populations in both rural communities and urban areas through specialized training. The PRIME program started in 2004, and tailored versions of PRIME later rolled out to every UC campus with a medical school. PRIME looks for medical school candidates who have leadership qualities and are experienced with and committed to working with underserved populations. The program combines specialized coursework, clinical experiences and mentoring in a tailored way that prepares future physician leaders to provide care to specific underserved populations of nearby regions. For example, the UC Irvine PRIME program focuses on the growing needs of California's Latino communities. The UC San Francisco and the UC Berkeley Joint Medical Program focus on urban underserved population healthcare delivery.
- 9. The rescission of the DACA policy will impair UC Health's efforts, such as PRIME, to recruit and train doctors who are statistically more likely to serve the communities and the medical specializations that California desperately needs. Research indicates that diverse doctors, like our DACA students, are more likely to enter into specialties and practice in geographic regions with the greatest

shortage of physician services. A powerful indicator of where a medical student is likely to practice is where they are from, so training exceptional students with ties to underserved areas increases the likelihood that such areas will have more physicians in the future. Research also indicates that physicians from minority populations are more effective in serving those same populations because of improved engagement with patients. Improved healthcare delivery and outcomes drive down health costs, improve community health, and increase the likelihood of economic success in that community. Our DACA students are essential to achieving these powerful healthcare outcomes.

- 10. The rescission of the DACA policy is likely to prevent our DACA students from completing, or even from starting, their residency training as physicians, since they will not be able to work legally without employment authorization. The rescission of the DACA policy will therefore make it more difficult for UC Health to deliver the kind of diverse next generation of physicians that UC Health believes is critical for California.
- 11. I expect that the rescission of the DACA policy will also have an impact on patient care in California's immigrant communities. Based on my experience, undocumented immigrants in general are less likely to seek healthcare because they fear immigration enforcement at hospitals and healthcare facilities. I believe this chilling effect would be particularly acute if our DACA medical students or residents were also subject to immigration enforcement.
- 12. Moreover, the rescission of the DACA policy puts directly at risk UC Health's significant investment of time and money into recruiting, retaining, and supporting its DACA-recipient students. The tuition fees paid by a medical student cover less than half the cost of the student's education, including residency. UC Health funds the remainder of the cost. UC Health will lose its significant investment in each DACA student if that student is unable to finish school or become a practicing doctor without DACA.
- 13. I am concerned that the rescission of the DACA program is likely to result in a higher attrition rate for our DACA students. Medical students at UC Health are highly qualified, carefully screened, and closely supported by each school. As a result, most students who start medical school at UC also finish medical school; the attrition rate is otherwise quite low. However, the futility of completing a medical degree without work authorization and incurring the significant debt that often

comes with that education and training increases the likelihood that our DACA students will not finish medical school. If this occurs, both UC Health and the student will lose their investment in medical training to date. I declare under penalty of perjury under the laws of the United States that the foregoing is true and correct. Executed on October 26, 2017 in Oakland, California. 8.

EXHIBIT W





Frequently Asked Questions: Rescission Of Deferred Action For Childhood Arrivals (DACA)

Release Date: September 5, 2017

En español (https://www.dhs.gov/news/2017/09/05/preguntas-frecuentes-anulaci-n-de-la-acci-n-diferida-para-los-llegados-en-la)

The following are frequently asked questions on the September 5, 2017 Rescission of the Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals (DACA) Program.

Q1: Why is DHS phasing out the DACA program?

A1: Taking into consideration the federal court rulings in ongoing litigation, and the September 4, 2017 letter from the Attorney General, it is clear that program should be terminated. As such, the Acting Secretary of Homeland Security rescinded the June 15, 2012 memorandum establishing the DACA program. Please see the Attorney General's letter and the Acting Secretary of Homeland Security's memorandum for further information on how this decision was reached.

Q2: What is going to happen to current DACA holders?

A2: Current DACA recipients will be permitted to retain both the period of deferred action and their employment authorization documents (EADs) until they expire, unless terminated or revoked. DACA benefits are generally valid for two years from the date of issuance.

Q3: What happens to individuals who currently have an initial DACA request pending?

A3: Due to the anticipated costs and administrative burdens associated with rejecting all pending initial requests, USCIS will adjudicate—on an individual, case-by-case basis—all

Case 1:16-cv-04756-NGG-VMS Document 123-5 Filed 12/15/17 Page 118 of 191 PageID #: 2000 properly filed DACA initial requests and associated applications for EADs that have been accepted as of September 5, 2017.

Q4: What happens to individuals who currently have a request for renewal of DACA pending?

A4: Due to the anticipated costs and administrative burdens associated with rejecting all pending renewal requests, USCIS adjudicate—on an individual, case-by-case basis—properly filed pending DACA renewal requests and associated applications for Employment Authorization Documents from current beneficiaries that have been accepted as of September 5, 2017, and from current beneficiaries whose benefits will expire between September 5, 2017 and March 5, 2018 that have been accepted as of October 5, 2017. USCIS will reject all requests to renew DACA and associated applications for EADs filed after October 5, 2017.

Q5: Is there still time for current DACA recipients to file a request to renew their DACA?

A5: USCIS will only accept renewal requests and associated applications for EADs for the class of individuals described above in the time period described above.

Q6: What happens when an individual's DACA benefits expire over the course of the next two years? Will individuals with expired DACA be considered illegally present in the country?

A6: Current law does not grant any legal status for the class of individuals who are current recipients of DACA. Recipients of DACA are currently unlawfully present in the U.S. with their removal deferred. When their period of deferred action expires or is terminated, their removal will no longer be deferred and they will no longer be eligible for lawful employment.

Only Congress has the authority to amend the existing immigration laws.

Q7: Once an individual's DACA expires, will their case be referred to ICE for enforcement purposes?

A7: Information provided to USCIS in DACA requests will not be proactively provided to ICE and CBP for the purpose of immigration enforcement proceedings, unless the requestor meets the criteria for the issuance of a Notice To Appear or a referral to ICE under the criteria set forth in USCIS' Notice to Appear guidance (www.uscis.gov/NTA (http://www.uscis.gov/NTA). This policy, which may be modified, superseded, or rescinded at any time without notice, is not

Case 1:16-cv-04756-NGG-VMS Document 123-5 Filed 12/15/17 Page 119 of 191 PageID #: intended to, does not, and may not be relied upon to create any right or benefit, substantive or procedural, enforceable by law by any party in any administrative, civil, or criminal matter.

Q8: Will USCIS share the personal information of individuals whose pending requests are denied proactively with ICE for enforcement purposes?

A8: Generally, information provided in DACA requests will not be proactively provided to other law enforcement entities (including ICE and CBP) for the purpose of immigration enforcement proceedings unless the requestor poses a risk to national security or public safety, or meets the criteria for the issuance of a Notice To Appear or a referral to ICE under the criteria. This policy, which may be modified, superseded, or rescinded at any time without notice, is not intended to, does not, and may not be relied upon to create any right or benefit, substantive or procedural, enforceable by law by any party in any administrative, civil, or criminal matter.

Q9: Can deferred action received pursuant to DACA be terminated before it expires?

A9: Yes. DACA is an exercise of deferred action which is a form of prosecutorial discretion. Hence, DHS will continue to exercise its discretionary authority to terminate or deny deferred action at any time when immigration officials determine termination or denial of deferred action is appropriate.

Q10: Can DACA recipients whose valid EAD is lost, stolen or destroyed request a new EAD during the phase out?

A10: If an individual's still-valid EAD is lost, stolen, or destroyed, they may request a replacement EAD by filing a new Form I-765.

Q11: Will DACA recipients still be able to travel outside of the United States while their DACA is valid?

A11: Effective September 5, 2017, USCIS will no longer approve any new Form I-131 applications for advance parole under standards associated with the DACA program. Those with a current advance parole validity period from a previously-approved advance parole application will generally retain the benefit until it expires. However, CBP will retain the authority it has always exercised in determining the admissibility of any person presenting at the border. Further, USCIS retains the authority to revoke or terminate an advance parole document at any time.

Case 1:16-cv-04756-NGG-VMS Document 123-5 Filed 12/15/17 Page 120 of 191 PageID #:

Q12: What happens to individuals who have pending requests for advance parole to travel outside of the United States?

A12: USCIS will administratively close all pending Form I-131 applications for advance parole under standards associated with the DACA program, and will refund all associated fees.

Q13: How many DACA requests are currently pending that will be impacted by this change? Do you have a breakdown of these numbers by state?

A13: There were 106,341 requests pending as of August 20, 2017 – 34,487 initial requests and 71,854 renewals. We do not currently have the state-specific breakouts.

Q14: Is there a grace period for DACA recipients with EADs that will soon expire to make appropriate plans to leave the country?

A14: As noted above, once an individual's DACA and EAD expire—unless in the limited class of beneficiaries above who are found eligible to renew their benefits—the individual is no longer considered lawfully present in the United States and is not authorized to work. Persons whose DACA permits will expire between September 5, 2017 and March 5, 2018 are eligible to renew their permits. No person should lose benefits under this memorandum prior to March 5, 2018 if they properly file a renewal request and associated application for employment authorization.

Q15: Can you provide a breakdown of how many DACA EADs expire in 2017, 2018, and 2019?

A15: From August through December 2017, 201,678 individuals are set to have their DACA/EADs expire. Of these individuals, 55,258 already have submitted requests for renewal of DACA to USCIS.

In calendar year 2018, 275,344 individuals are set to have their DACA/EADs expire. Of these 275,344 individuals, 7,271 have submitted requests for renewal to USCIS.

From January through August 2019, 321,920 individuals are set to have their DACA/EADs expire. Of these 321,920 individuals, eight have submitted requests for renewal of DACA to USCIS.

Case 1:16-cv-04756-NGG-VMS Document 123-5 Filed 12/15/17 Page 121 of 191 PageID #:

Q16: What were the previous guidelines for USCIS to grant DACA?

A16: Individuals meeting the following categorical criteria could apply for DACA if they:

- Were under the age of 31 as of June 15, 2012;
- Came to the United States before reaching their 16th birthday;
- Have continuously resided in the United States since June 15, 2007, up to the present time;
- Were physically present in the United States on June 15, 2012, and at the time of making their request for consideration of deferred action with USCIS;
- Had no lawful status on June 15, 2012;
- Are currently in school, have graduated, or obtained a certificate of completion from high school, have obtained a General Educational Development (GED) certificate, or are an honorably discharged veteran of the Coast Guard or Armed Forces of the United States; and
- Have not been convicted of a felony, significant misdemeanor, three or more other misdemeanors, and do not otherwise pose a threat to national security or public safety.

Topics: Border Security (/topics/border-security), Deferred Action (/topics/deferred-action)

Keywords: DACA (/keywords/daca), Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals (/keywords/deferred-action-childhood-arrivals)

Last Published Date: September 5, 2017

EXHIBIT X Supporting Declaration of Karen C. Tumlin



Frequently Asked Questions: Rejected DACA Requests

Specific guidance will be provided soon about the steps that a DACA recipient must take to resubmit his or her renewal request to USCIS if the filing was rejected due to U.S. Postal Service mail-service delays.

Q1: Are any new DACA requests being accepted?

A1: No. The DACA policy for accepting new, initial DACA requests ended on Sept. 5, 2017.

Q2: Can I still submit a DACA renewal request?

A2: No. The due date for DACA renewal requests was Sept. 5, 2017 for recipients whose DACA expired before Sept. 5, 2017, and Oct. 5, 2017 for recipients whose DACA expired between Sept. 5, 2017 and March 5, 2018.

Q3: I believe that my DACA request was delivered by the deadline, but since it wasn't officially "received" by USCIS until the following day, my request was rejected and returned to me. What do I need to do to have my DACA request reconsidered?

A3: USCIS will identify you and will send you a letter inviting you to resubmit your DACA request. You will have 33 days from the date of the letter to resubmit your request. You may wish to keep a copy of all materials included in your resubmission. USCIS expects to be able to identify and send letters to all persons in this situation.

Q4: I believe that my DACA request was delivered by the deadline, but since it wasn't officially "received" by USCIS until the following day, my request was rejected and returned to me. However, I haven't been contacted by USCIS to resubmit my DACA request. What should I do?

A4: If you believe your DACA request was delivered by the filing deadline but have not been contacted by USCIS to resubmit your request, you may contact Lockbox Support and explain your situation prior to resubmitting your package for reconsideration. To contact Lockbox Support please email lockboxsupport@uscis.dhs.gov. Provide any information you feel is relevant to your belief that your DACA request was received by USCIS in a timely manner.

Q5: What will happen if my current DACA expires before my renewal is processed? Will I be at risk of removal while this issue is being resolved?

A5: Consistent with longstanding USCIS policy, you will not have deferred action if there is a gap of time between the end of your current DACA and the agency's adjudication of your renewal request. Therefore it is very important for you to resubmit your renewal request as soon as possible.

Information provided to USCIS for the DACA process will not make you an immigration priority for that reason alone. That information will only be proactively provided to ICE or CBP if the requestor meets the criteria for the issuance of a Notice To Appear or a referral to ICE under the criteria set forth in USCIS' Notice to Appear guidance (www.uscis.gov/NTA). This information-sharing policy has not changed in any way since it was first announced, including as a result of the Sept. 5, 2017 memo starting a wind-down of the DACA policy. This policy, which may be modified, superseded, or rescinded at any time with or without notice (as has always been the case, and is noted in the archived USCIS DACA FAQs), is not intended to, does not, and may not be relied upon to create any right or benefit, substantive or procedural, enforceable by law by any party in any administrative, civil, or criminal matter.

Q6: If my DACA renewal request is approved after expiration of my current DACA, will the renewed deferred action apply retroactively?

A6: No. In accordance with longstanding policy, an approved DACA request will not apply retroactively. An individual's deferred action under the DACA policy begins the day USCIS approves the renewal request and is generally valid for two years from the date of issuance.

Q7: I submitted my renewal request on time, but it was rejected by USCIS for other reasons. Can I resubmit it again?
A7: If USCIS rejected your timely filed renewal request because it was not properly filed, that is a valid reason for rejection and it will not be reconsidered. However, if you believe your request was improperly rejected, i.e., it did include all required documents and information, and was properly signed and accompanied by the required fee or approved fee exemption, you may contact Lockbox Support for more information. The email address for Lockbox Support is lockboxsupport@uscis.dhs.gov. Please be prepared to identify and provide a detailed description of the error you believe was made. If you identify a clear error by USCIS in the processing of your renewal request, USCIS may exercise its discretion to review your request again.

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The above FAQs, which may be modified, superseded, or rescinded at any time with or without notice, are not intended to, do not, and may not be relied upon to create any right or benefit, substantive or procedural, enforceable by law by any party in any administrative, civil, or criminal matter.

Last Reviewed/Updated: 11/30/2017

EXHIBIT Y

the WHITE HOUSE PRESIDENT DONALD J. TRUMP





From the Press Office

Speeches & Remarks

Press Briefings

Statements & Releases

Nominations & Appointments

Presidential Actions

Legislation

Disclosures

The White House

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

February 16, 2017

Remarks by President Trump in **Press Conference**

East Room

12:55 P.M. EST

THE PRESIDENT: Thank you very much. I just wanted to begin by mentioning that the nominee for Secretary of the Department of Labor will be Mr. Alex Acosta. He has a law degree from Harvard Law School, was a great student. Former clerk for Justice Samuel Alito. And he has had a tremendous career. He's a member, and has been a member, of the National Labor Relations Board, and has been through Senate confirmation three times, confirmed -- did very, very well. And so Alex, I've

wished him the best. We just spoke. And he's going to be -- I think he'll be a tremendous Secretary of Labor.

And also, as you probably heard just a little while ago, Mick Mulvaney, former congressman, has just been approved -- weeks late, I have to say that. Weeks, weeks late. Office of Management and Budget. And he will be, I think, a fantastic addition. Paul Singer has just left. As you know, Paul was very much involved with the anti-Trump, or, as they say, "Never Trump." And Paul just left and he's given us his total support. And it's all about unification. We're unifying the party, and hopefully we're going to be able to unify the country. It's very important to me. I've been talking about that for a long time, but it's very, very important to me. So I want to thank Paul Singer for being here and for coming up to the office. He was a very strong opponent, and now he's a very strong ally. And I appreciate that.

I think I'll say a few words, and then we'll take some questions. And I had this time -- we've been negotiating a lot of different transactions to save money on contracts that were terrible, including airplane contracts that were out of control and late and terrible. Just absolutely catastrophic in terms of what was happening. And we've done some really good work. We're very proud of that.

And then right after that, you prepare yourselves and we'll do some questions -- unless you have no questions. That's always a possibility.

I'm here today to update the American people on the incredible progress that has been made in the last four weeks since my inauguration. We have made incredible progress. I don't think there's ever been a President elected who, in this short period of time, has done what we've done.

A new Rasmussen poll, in fact -- because the people get it; much of the media doesn't get it. They actually get it, but they don't write it -- let's put it that way. But a new Rasmussen poll just came out just a very short while ago, and it has our approval rating at 55 percent and going up. The stock market has hit record numbers, as you know. And there has been a tremendous surge of optimism in the business world, which is -- to me means something much different than it used to. It used to mean, oh, that's good. Now it means that's good for jobs. Very different. Plants and factories are already starting to move back into the United States and big league -- Ford, General Motors, so many of them.

I'm making this presentation directly to the American people with the media present, which is an honor to have you this morning, because many of our nation's

reporters and folks will not tell you the truth and will not treat the wonderful people of our country with the respect that they deserve. And I hope going forward we can be a little bit different, and maybe get along a little bit better, if that's possible. Maybe it's not, and that's okay too.

Unfortunately, much of the media in Washington, D.C., along with New York, Los Angeles, in particular, speaks not for the people but for the special interests and for those profiting off a very, very obviously broken system. The press has become so dishonest that if we don't talk about it, we are doing a tremendous disservice to the American people -- tremendous disservice. We have to talk about it to find out what's going on, because the press honestly is out of control. The level of dishonesty is out of control.

I ran for President to represent the citizens of our country. I am here to change the broken system so it serves their families and their communities well. I am talking, and really talking, on this very entrenched power structure, and what we're doing is we're talking about the power structure, we're talking about its entrenchment. As a result, the media is going through what they have to go through to oftentimes distort -- not all the time -- and some of the media is fantastic, I have to say; they're honest and fantastic. But much of it is not -- the distortion. And we'll talk about it, and you'll be able to ask me questions about it.

But we're not going to let it happen, because I'm here again to take my message straight to the people. As you know, our administration inherited many problems across government and across the economy. To be honest, I inherited a mess -- it's a mess -- at home and abroad. A mess. Jobs are pouring out of the country. You see what's going on with all of the companies leaving our country, going to Mexico and other places -- low-pay, low-wages. Mass instability overseas, no matter where you look. The Middle East, a disaster. North Korea -- we'll take care of it, folks. We're going to take care of it all. I just want to let you know I inherited a mess.

Beginning on day one, our administration went to work to tackle these challenges. On foreign affairs, we've already begun enormously productive talks with many foreign leaders -- much of it you've covered -- to move forward toward stability, security, and peace in the most troubled regions of the world, which there are many.

We've had great conversations with the United Kingdom -- and meetings -- Israel, Mexico, Japan, China, and Canada. Really, really productive conversations. I would

say far more productive than you would understand. We've even developed a new council with Canada to promote women's business leaders and entrepreneurs. It's very important to me, very important to my daughter Ivanka.

I have directed our defense community, headed by our great general, now Secretary Mattis -- he's over there now, working very hard -- to submit a plan for the defeat of ISIS, a group that celebrates the murder and torture of innocent people in large sections of the world. It used to be a small group, and now it's in large sections of the world. They've spread like cancer. ISIS has spread like cancer. Another mess I inherited.

And we have imposed new sanctions on the nation of Iran, who's totally taken advantage of our previous administration. And they're the world's top sponsor of terrorism. And we're not going to stop until that problem is properly solved. And it's not properly solved now. It's one of the worst agreements I've ever seen drawn by anybody.

I've ordered plans to begin for the massive rebuilding of the United States military. I've had great support from the Senate. I've had great support from Congress generally. We've pursued this rebuilding in the hopes that we will never have to use this military. And I will tell you that is my -- I would be so happy if we never had to use it. But our country will never have had a military like the military we're about to build and rebuild. We have the greatest people on Earth in our military, but they don't have the right equipment. And their equipment is old. I used it, I talked about it at every stop. Depleted -- it's depleted. It won't be depleted for long.

And I think one of the reasons I'm standing here instead of other people is that, frankly, I talked about we have to have a strong military. We have to have strong law enforcement also. So we do not go abroad in the search of war. We really are searching for peace, but it's peace through strength.

At home, we have begun the monumental task of returning the government back to the people on a scale not seen in many, many years. In each of these actions, I'm keeping my promises to the American people. These are campaign promises. Some people are so surprised that we're having strong borders. Well, that's what I've been talking about for a year and a half -- strong borders. They're so surprised -- "oh, you're having strong borders." Well, that's what I've been talking about to the press and to everybody else.

One promise after another after years of politicians lying to you to get elected. They lie to the American people in order to get elected. Some of the things I'm doing probably aren't popular, but they're necessary for security and for other reasons. And then coming to Washington and pursuing their own interests, which is more important to many politicians.

I'm here following through on what I pledged to do. That's all I'm doing. I put it out before the American people. Got 306 Electoral College votes. I wasn't supposed to get 222. They said there's no way to get 222; 230 is impossible. Two hundred and seventy, which you need, that was laughable. We got 306 because people came out and voted like they've never seen before. So that's the way it goes. I guess it was the biggest Electoral College win since Ronald Reagan.

In other words, the media is trying to attack our administration because they know we are following through on pledges that we made, and they're not happy about it for whatever reason. But a lot of people are happy about it. In fact, I'll be in Melbourne, Florida, five o'clock on Saturday, and I heard -- just heard that the crowds are massive that want to be there.

I turn on the TV, open the newspapers, and I see stories of chaos. Chaos! Yet, it is the exact opposite. This administration is running like a fine-tuned machine, despite the fact that I can't get my Cabinet approved, and they're outstanding people. Like Senator Dan Coates whose there -- one of the most respected men of the Senate -- he can't get approved. How do you not approve him? He's been a colleague, highly respected -- brilliant guy, great guy, everybody knows it -- but waiting for approval.

So we have a wonderful group of people that's working very hard, that's being very much misrepresented about, and we can't let that happen. So if the Democrats, who have -- all you have to do is look at where they are right now -- the only thing they can do is delay, because they've screwed things up royally, believe me.

Let me list to you some of the things that we've done in just a short period of time. I just got here. I got here with no Cabinet. Again, each of these actions is a promise I made to the American people. So we'll go over just some of them, and we have a lot happening next week and in the weeks coming. We've withdrawn from the job-killing disaster known as Trans-Pacific Partnership. We're going to make trade deals, but we're going to have one-on-one deals -- bilateral. We're going to have one-on-one deals.

We've directed the elimination of regulations that undermine manufacturing, and called for expedited approval of the permits needed for America and American infrastructure, and that means plants, equipment, roads, bridges, factories. People take 10, 15, 20 years to get disapproved for a factory. They go in for a permit -- it's many, many years. And then at the end of the process -- they spend tens of millions of dollars on nonsense -- and at the end of the process, they get rejected. Now, they may be rejected with me, but it's going to be a quick rejection. It's not going to take years. But mostly, it's going to be an acceptance. We want plants built, and we want factories built, and we want the jobs. We don't want the jobs going to other countries.

We've imposed a hiring freeze on nonessential federal workers. We've imposed a temporary moratorium on new federal regulations. We've issued a game-changing new rule that says for each one new regulation, two old regulations must be eliminated. Makes sense. Nobody has ever seen regulations like we have. If you go to other countries and you look at industries they have, and you say, let me see your regulations, and they're a fraction, just a tiny fraction of what we have. And I want regulations because I want safety, I want all environmental situations to be taken properly care of. It's very important to me. But you don't need four or five or six regulations to take care of the same thing.

We've stood up for the men and women of law enforcement, directing federal agencies to ensure they are protected from crimes of violence. We've directed the creation of a task force for reducing violent crime in America, including the horrendous situation -- take a look at Chicago and others -- taking place right now in our inner cities. Horrible. We've ordered the Department of Homeland Security and Justice to coordinate on a plan to destroy criminal cartels coming into the United States with drugs. We're becoming a drug-infested nation. Drugs are becoming cheaper than candy bars, and we're not going to let it happen any longer.

We've undertaken the most substantial border security measures in a generation to keep our nation and our tax dollars safe, and are now in the process of beginning to build a promised wall on the southern border. Met with General, now Secretary, Kelly yesterday and we're starting that process. And the wall is going to be a great wall, and it's going to be a wall negotiated by me. The price is going to come down, just like it has on everything else I've negotiated for the government. And we're going to have a wall that works. We're not going to have a wall like they have now, which is either nonexistent or a joke.

We've ordered a crackdown on sanctuary cities that refuse to comply with federal law and that harbor criminal aliens, and we've ordered an end to the policy of catch and release on the border. No more release, no matter who you are -- release. We've begun a nationwide effort to remove criminal aliens, gang members, drug dealers, and others who pose a threat to public safety. We are saving American lives every single day. The court system has not made it easy for us. And we've even created a new office in Homeland Security dedicated to the forgotten American victims of illegal immigrant violence, of which there are many.

We've taken decisive action to keep radical Islamic terrorists out of our country. Though parts of our necessary and constitutional actions were blocked by a judge's, in my opinion, incorrect and unsafe ruling, our administration is working night and day to keep you safe -- including reporters safe -- and is vigorously defending this lawful order. I will not back down from defending our country. I got elected on defense of our country. And I keep my campaign promises. And our citizens will be very happy when they see the result. They already are. I can tell you that.

Extreme vetting will be put in place, and it already is in place in many places. In fact, we had to go quicker than we thought because of the bad decision we received from a circuit that has been overturned at a record number. I've heard 80 percent -- I find that hard to believe; that's just a number I heard -- that they're overturned 80 percent of the time. I think that circuit is in chaos and that circuit is, frankly, in turmoil. But we are appealing that and we are going further.

We're issuing a new executive action next week that will comprehensively protect our country, so we'll be going along the one path and hopefully winning that. At the same time, we will be issuing a new and very comprehensive order to protect our people, and that will be done some time next week, toward the beginning or middle at the latest part.

We've also taken steps to begin construction of the Keystone Pipeline and Dakota Access Pipelines -- thousands and thousands of jobs -- and put new "Buy American" measures in place to require American steel for American pipelines. In other words, they build a pipeline in this country and we use the powers of government to make that pipeline happen. We want them to use American steel. And they're willing to do that, but nobody ever asked before I came along. Even this order was drawn and they didn't say that. And I'm reading the order, I'm saying, why aren't we using American steel? And they said, that's a good idea. We put it in.

To drain the swamp of corruption in Washington, D.C. I've started by imposing a five-year lobbying ban on White House officials and a lifetime ban on lobbying for a foreign government. We've begun preparing to repeal and replace Obamacare. Obamacare is a disaster, folks. It's a disaster. You can say, oh, Obamacare -- I mean, they fill up our alleys with people that you wonder how they get there, but they're not the Republican people that our representatives are representing. So we've begun preparing to repeal and replace Obamacare and are deep in the midst of negotiations on a very historic tax reform to bring our jobs back. We're bringing our jobs back to this country big league. It's already happening, but big league.

I've also worked to install a Cabinet over the delays and obstruction of Senate Democrats. You've seen what they've done over the last long number of years. That will be one of the great Cabinets ever assembled in American history. You look at Rex Tillerson -- he's out there negotiating right now. General Mattis I mentioned before, General Kelly. We have great, great people. Mick is with us now. We have great people.

Among their responsibilities will be ending the bleeding of jobs from our country and negotiating fair trade deals for our citizens. Now, look, fair trade -- not free -- fair. If a country is taking advantage of us, we're not going to let that happen anymore. Every country takes advantage of us, almost. I may be able to find a couple that don't. But for the most part, that would be a very tough job for me to do.

Jobs have already started to surge. Since my election, Ford announced it will abandon its plans to build a new factory in Mexico and will instead invest \$700 million in Michigan, creating many, many jobs. Fiat-Chrysler announced it will invest \$1 billion in Ohio and Michigan, creating 2,000 new American jobs. They were with me a week ago. You know -- you were here. General Motors, likewise, committed to invest billions of dollars in its American manufacturing operation, keeping many jobs here that were going to leave. And if I didn't get elected, believe me, they would have left. And these jobs and these things that I'm announcing would never have come here.

Intel just announced that it will move ahead with a new plant in Arizona that probably was never going to move ahead with. And that will result in at least 10,000 American jobs. Walmart announced it will create 10,000 jobs in the United States just this year because of our various plans and initiatives. There will be many, many more. Many more. These are a few that we're naming.

Other countries have been taking advantage of us for decades -- decades and decades and decades, folks. And we're not going to let that happen anymore. Not going to let it happen.

And one more thing. I have kept my promise to the American people by nominating a justice of the United States Supreme Court, Judge Neil Gorsuch, who is from my list of 20, and who will be a true defender of our laws and our Constitution -- highly respected, should get the votes from the Democrats -- you may not see that, but he'll get there one way or the other. But he should get there the old-fashioned way, and he should get those votes.

This last month has represented an unprecedented degree of action on behalf of the great citizens of our country. Again, I say it -- there has never been a presidency that's done so much in such a short period of time. And we haven't even started the big work that starts early next week. Some very big things are going to be announced next week.

So we're just getting started. We will be giving a speech, as I said, in Melbourne, Florida, at 5:00 p.m. I hope to see you there. And with that, I'd just say, God bless America, and let's take some questions.

Mara. Mara, go ahead. You were cut off pretty violently at our last news conference.

Q Did you fire Mike Flynn?

THE PRESIDENT: Mike Flynn is a fine person, and I asked for his resignation. He respectfully gave it. He is a man who -- there was a certain amount of information given to Vice President Pence, who is with us today. And I was not happy with the way that information was given.

He didn't have to do that, because what he did wasn't wrong, what he did in terms of the information he saw. What was wrong was the way that other people, including yourselves in this room, were given that information, because that was classified information that was given illegally. That's the real problem. And you can talk all you want about Russia, which was all a fake news, fabricated deal to try and make up for the loss of the Democrats, and the press plays right into it. In fact, I saw a couple of the people that were supposedly involved with all of this -- they know nothing about it. They weren't in Russia, they never made a phone call to Russia, they never received a phone call. It's all fake news. It's all fake news.

The nice thing is I see it starting to turn, where people are now looking at the illegal, Mara -- and I think it's very important -- the illegal giving out classified information. And let me just tell you, it was given out, like, so much. I'll give you an example. I called, as you know, Mexico. It was a very confidential, classified call, but I called Mexico. And in calling Mexico, I figured, oh, well, that's -- I spoke to the President of Mexico, had a good call. All of a sudden it's out for the world to see. It's supposed to be secret. It's supposed to be either confidential or classified in that case. Same thing with Australia. All of a sudden people are finding out exactly what took place.

The same thing happened with respect to General Flynn. Everybody saw this, and I'm saying -- the first thing I thought of when I heard about it is, how does the press get this information that's classified? How do they do it? You know why? Because it's an illegal process, and the press should be ashamed of themselves. But, more importantly, the people that gave out the information to the press should be ashamed of themselves. Really ashamed.

Yes, go ahead.

Q Why did you keep your Vice President in the dark for almost two weeks?

THE PRESIDENT: Because when I looked at the information, I said, I don't think he did anything wrong. If anything, he did something right. He was coming into office, he looked at the information. He said, huh, that's fine, that's what they're supposed to do. They're supposed to be -- and he didn't just call Russia. He called and spoke to, both ways -- I think there were 30-some-odd countries. He's doing the job.

You know, he was just doing his job. The thing is he didn't tell our Vice President properly, and then he said he didn't remember. So either way, it wasn't very satisfactory to me. And I have somebody that I think will be outstanding for the position, and that also helps, I think, in the making of my decision.

But he didn't tell the Vice President of the United States the facts, and then he didn't remember. And that just wasn't acceptable to me.

Yes.

Q President Trump, since you brought up Russia, I'm looking for some clarification here. During the campaign, did anyone from your team communicate with

members of the Russian government or Russian intelligence? And if so, what was the nature of those conversations?

THE PRESIDENT: Well, the failing New York Times wrote a big, long front-page story yesterday. And it was very much discredited, as you know. It was -- it's a joke. And the people mentioned in the story -- I notice they were on television today saying they never even spoke to Russia. They weren't even a part, really -- I mean, they were such a minor part -- I hadn't spoken to them. I think the one person, I don't think I've ever spoken to him. I don't think I've ever met him. And he actually said he was a very low-level member of, I think, a committee for a short period of time. I don't think I ever met him. Now, it's possible that I walked into a room and he was sitting there, but I don't think I ever met him. I didn't talk to him, ever. And he thought it was a joke.

The other person said he never spoke to Russia, never received a call. Look at his phone records, et cetera, et cetera. And the other person, people knew that he'd represented various countries, but I don't think he represented Russia -- but knew that he represented various countries. That's what he does. I mean, people know that. That's Mr. Manafort, who's, by the way -- who's, by the way, a respected man. He's a respected man. But I think he represented the Ukraine, or Ukraine government, or somebody. But everybody -- people knew that. Everybody knew that. So these people -- and he said that he has absolutely nothing to do and never has with Russia. And he said that very forcefully. I saw his statement. He said it very forcefully. Most of the papers don't print it because that's not good for their stories.

So the three people that they talked about all totally deny it. And I can tell you, speaking for myself, I own nothing in Russia. I have no loans in Russia. I don't have any deals in Russia. President Putin called me up very nicely to congratulate me on the win of the election. He then called me up extremely nicely to congratulate me on the inauguration, which was terrific. But so did many other leaders -- almost all other leaders from almost all other countries. So that's the extent.

Russia is fake news. Russia -- this is fake news put out by the media. The real news is the fact that people, probably from the Obama administration because they're there -- because we have our new people going in place right now. As you know, Mike Pompeo is now taking control of the CIA. James Comey at FBI. Dan Coats is waiting to be approved. I mean, he is a senator, and a highly respected one. And he's still waiting to be approved. But our new people are going in.

And just while you're at, because you mentioned this, Wall Street Journal did a story today that was almost as disgraceful as the failing New Times's story yesterday. And it talked about -- you saw it, front page. So, Director of National Intelligence just put out -- acting -- a statement: "Any suggestion that the United States intelligence community" -- this was just given to us -- "is withholding information and not providing the best possible intelligence to the President and his national security team is not true."

So they took this front-page story out of The Wall Street Journal -- top -- and they just wrote the story is not true. And I'll tell you something, I'll be honest -- because I sort of enjoy this back and forth, and I guess I have all my life, but I've never seen more dishonest media than, frankly, the political media. I thought the financial media was much better, much more honest. But I will say that I never get phone calls from the media. How do they write a story like that in The Wall Street Journal without asking me? Or how do they write a story in The New York Times, put it on front page? That was like that story they wrote about the women and me -- front page. Big massive story. And it was nasty.

And then they called. They said, "We never said that. We like Mr. Trump." They called up my office -- we like Mr. Trump; we never said that. And it was totally -- they totally misrepresented those very wonderful women, I have to tell you -- totally misrepresented. I said, give us a retraction. They never gave us a retraction. And, frankly, I then went on to other things.

Go ahead.

Q Mr. President --

THE PRESIDENT: You okay?

Q I am. Just wanted to get untangled. Very simply, you said today that you had the biggest electoral margins since Ronald Reagan with 304 or 306 electoral votes. In fact, President Obama got 365 in 2008.

THE PRESIDENT: Well, I'm talking about Republican. Yes.

Q President Obama, 332. George H.W. Bush, 426 when he won as President. So why should Americans trust --

THE PRESIDENT: Well, no, I was told -- I was given that information. I don't know. I was just given. We had a very, very big margin.

Q I guess my question is, why should Americans trust you when you have accused the information they receive of being fake when you're providing information that's fake?

THE PRESIDENT: Well, I don't know. I was given that information. I was given -- actually, I've seen that information around. But it was a very substantial victory. Do you agree with that?

O You're the President.

THE PRESIDENT: Okay, thank you. That's a good answer. Yes.

Q Mr. President, thank you so much. Can you tell us in determining that Lieutenant General Flynn -- there was no wrongdoing in your mind, what evidence was weighed? Did you have the transcripts of these telephone intercepts with Russian officials, particularly Ambassador Kislyak, who he was communicating with? What evidence did you weigh to determine there was no wrong doing?

And further than that, sir, you've said on a couple of occasions this morning that you were going to aggressively pursue the sources of these leaks.

THE PRESIDENT: We are.

Q Can we ask what you're doing to do? And also, we've heard about a review of the intelligence community headed by Stephen Feinberg. What can you tell us about that?

THE PRESIDENT: Well, first of all, about that, we now have Dan Coats, hopefully soon Mike Pompeo and James Comey, and they're in position. So I hope that we'll be able to straighten that out without using anybody else. The gentleman you mentioned is a very talented man, very successful man. And he has offered his services, and it's something we may take advantage of. But I don't think we'll need that at all because of the fact that I think that we're going to be able to straighten it out very easily on its own.

As far as the general is concerned, when I first heard about it, I said, huh, that doesn't sound wrong. My counsel came -- Don McGahn, White House Counsel -- and he told me, and I asked him, and he can speak very well for himself. He said he doesn't think anything is wrong. He really didn't think -- it was really what happened after that, but he didn't think anything was done wrong. I didn't either,

because I waited a period of time and I started to think about it. I said, well, I don't see -- to me, he was doing the job.

The information was provided by -- who I don't know -- Sally Yates -- and I was a little surprised because I said, doesn't sound like he did anything wrong there. But he did something wrong with respect to the Vice President, and I thought that was not acceptable. As far as the actual making the call -- in fact, I've watched various programs and I've read various articles where he was just doing his job. That was very normal. At first, everybody got excited because they thought he did something wrong. After they thought about it, it turned out he was just doing his job.

So -- and I do -- and, by the way, with all of that being said, I do think he's a fine man.

Yes, Jon.

Q On the leaks, sir --

THE PRESIDENT: Go ahead, finish off, then I'll get you, Jon.

Q Sorry, what will you do on the leaks? You have said twice today --

THE PRESIDENT: Yes, we're looking at it very, very seriously. I've gone to all of the folks in charge of the various agencies, and we're -- I've actually called the Justice Department to look into the leaks. Those are criminal leaks. They're put out by people either in agencies. I think you'll see it stopping because now we have our people in. You know, again, we don't have our people in because we can't get them approved by the Senate. We just had Jeff Sessions approved in Justice, as an example. So we are looking into that very seriously. It's a criminal act.

You know what I say -- when I was called out on Mexico, I was shocked. Because all this equipment, all this incredible phone equipment. When I was called out on Mexico, I was -- honestly, I was really, really surprised. But I said, you know, it doesn't make sense, that won't happen. But that wasn't that important to call, it was fine. I could show it to the world and he could show it to the world -- the President who is a very fine man, by the way. Same thing with Australia. I said, that's terrible that it was leaked but it wasn't that important. But then I said, what happens when I'm dealing with the problem of North Korea? What happens when I'm dealing with the problems in the Middle East? Are you folks going to be

reporting all of that very, very confidential information -- very important, very -- I mean, at the highest level, are you going to be reporting about that too?

So I don't want classified information getting out to the public. And in a way, that was almost a test. So I'm dealing with Mexico. I'm dealing with Argentina. We were dealing on this case with Mike Flynn. All this information gets put into the Washington Post and gets put into the New York Times. And I'm saying, what's going to happen when I'm dealing on the Middle East? What's going to happen when I'm dealing with really, really important subjects like North Korea? We've got to stop it. That's why it's a criminal penalty.

Yes, Jon.

Q Thank you, Mr. President. I just want to get you to clarify just a very important point. Can you say definitively that nobody on your campaign had any contacts with the Russians during the campaign? And, on the leaks, is it fake news or are these real leaks?

THE PRESIDENT: Well, the leaks are real. You're the one that wrote about them and reported them. I mean, the leaks are real. You know what they said -- you saw it. And the leaks are absolutely real. The news is fake because so much of the news is fake.

So one thing that I felt it was very important to do -- and I hope we can correct it, because there is nobody I have more respect for -- well, maybe a little bit -- than reporters, than good reporters. It's very important to me, and especially in this position. It's very important. I don't mind bad stories. I can handle a bad story better than anybody as long as it's true. And over a course of time, I'll make mistakes and you'll write badly and I'm okay with that. But I'm not okay when it is fake. I mean, I watch CNN -- it's so much anger and hatred and just the hatred. I don't watch it anymore because it's very good -- he's saying no. It's okay, Jim. It's okay, Jim. You'll have your chance. But I watch others too. You're not the only one, so don't feel badly.

But I think it should be straight. I think it should be -- I think it would be, frankly, more interesting. I know how good everybody's ratings are right now, but I think that actually would be -- I think that it would actually be better.

People -- I mean, you have a lower approval rate than Congress. I think that's right. I don't know, Peter, is that one right? Because you know, I think they have lower -- I heard, lower than Congress.

But honestly, the public would appreciate it. I'd appreciate it. Again, I don't mind bad stories when it's true. But we have an administration where the Democrats are making it very difficult. I think we're setting a record, or close to a record in the time of approval of a Cabinet. I mean, the numbers are crazy. When I'm looking -- some of them had them approved immediately. I'm going forever, and I still have a lot of people that we're waiting for.

And that's all they're doing, is delaying. And you look at Schumer and the mess that he's got over there, and they have nothing going. The only thing they can do is delay. And you know, I think they'd be better served by approving and making sure that they're happy and everybody is good. And sometimes, I mean -- I know President Obama lost three or four, and you lose them on the way. And that's okay. That's fine.

But I think they would be much better served, Jon, if they just went through the process quickly. This is pure delay tactics. And they say it, and everybody understands it.

Yeah, go ahead, Jim.

Q The first part of my question on contacts. Do you definitively say that nobody --

THE PRESIDENT: Well, I had nothing to do with it. I have nothing to do with Russia. I told you, I have no deals there. I have no anything.

Now, when WikiLeaks, which I had nothing to do with, comes out and happens to give -- they're not giving classified information. They're giving stuff -- what was said at an office about Hillary cheating on the debates -- which, by the way, nobody mentions. Nobody mentions that Hillary received the questions to the debates.

Can you imagine -- seriously, can you imagine if I received the questions? It would be the electric chair, okay? "He should be put in the electric chair." You would even call for the reinstitution of the death penalty, okay? Maybe not you, Jon.

Yes, we'll do you next, Jim. I'll do you next. Yes?

Q Thank you, Mr. President. I just want to clarify one other thing.

THE PRESIDENT: Sure.

Q Did you direct Mike Flynn to discuss the sanctions with the Russian ambassador?

THE PRESIDENT: No, I didn't. No, I didn't.

Q (Inaudible.) (Off mic.)

THE PRESIDENT: No, I didn't.

Q Did you fire him because (inaudible) --

THE PRESIDENT: Excuse me -- no, I fired him because of what he said to Mike Pence, very simple. Mike was doing his job. He was calling countries and his counterparts. So it certainly would have been okay with me if he did it. I would have directed him to do it if I thought he wasn't doing it. I didn't direct him but I would have directed him because that's his job.

And it came out that way -- and, in all fairness, I watched Dr. Charles Krauthammer the other night say he was doing his job. And I agreed with him. And since then I've watched many other people say that.

No, I didn't direct him, but I would have directed him if he didn't do it, okay?

Jim.

Q Mr. President, thank you very much. And just for the record, we don't hate you, I don't hate you. If you could pass that along.

THE PRESIDENT: Okay. Well, ask Jeff Zucker how he got his job, okay?

Q If I may follow up on some of the questions that have taken place so far, sir.

THE PRESIDENT: Well, not too many. We do have other people. You do have other people, and your ratings aren't as good as some of the other people that are waiting.

Q They're pretty good right now, actually.

THE PRESIDENT: Okay. Go ahead, Jim.

Q If I may ask, sir, you said earlier that WikiLeaks was revealing information about the Hillary Clinton campaign during the election cycle. You welcomed that at one point.

THE PRESIDENT: I was okay with it.

Q You said you loved WikiLeaks. At another campaign press conference you called on the Russians to find the missing 30,000 emails. I'm wondering, sir, if you --

THE PRESIDENT: Well, she was actually missing 33,000, and then that got extended with a whole pile after that, but that's okay.

Q Maybe my numbers are off a little bit too.

THE PRESIDENT: No, no, but I did say 30,000, but it was actually higher than that.

Q If I may ask you, sir, it sounds as though you do not have much credibility here when it comes to leaking if that is something that you encouraged in the campaign.

THE PRESIDENT: Okay, fair question. Ready?

Q So if I may ask you that -- if I may ask a follow-up --

THE PRESIDENT: No, no, but are you -- let me do one at a time. Do you mind?

Q Yes, sir.

THE PRESIDENT: All right. So in one case you're talking about highly classified information. In the other case you're talking about John Podesta saying bad things about the boss. I will say this: If John Podesta said that about me and he was working for me, I would have fired him so fast your head would have spun. He said terrible things about her. But it wasn't classified information.

But in one case you're talking about classified. Regardless, if you look at the RNC, we had a very strong -- at my suggestion -- and I give Reince great credit for this -- at my suggestion, because I know something about this world, I said I want a very strong defensive mechanism. I don't want to be hacked. And we did that, and you have seen that they tried to hack us and they failed.

The DNC did not do that. And if they did it, they could not have been hacked. But they were hacked, and terrible things came. And the only thing that I do think is unfair is some of the things were so -- they were -- when I heard some of those

things, I said -- I picked up the papers the next morning, I said, oh, this is going to front page. It wasn't even in the papers.

Again, if I had that happen to me, it would be the biggest story in the history of publishing or the head of newspapers. I would have been the headline in every newspaper.

I mean, think of it. They gave her the questions for the debate, and she should have reported herself. Why didn't Hillary Clinton announce that, "I'm sorry, but I have been given the questions to a debate or a town hall, and I feel that it's inappropriate, and I want to turn in CNN for not doing a good job"?

Q And if I may follow up on that, just something that Jonathan Karl was asking you about -- you said that the leaks are real, but the news is fake. I guess I don't understand. It seems that there is a disconnect there. If the information coming from those leaks is real, then how can the stories be fake?

THE PRESIDENT: Well, the reporting is fake. Look, look --

Q And if I may ask -- I just want to ask one other question.

THE PRESIDENT: Jim, you know what it is? Here's the thing. The public isn't -- they read newspapers, they see television, they watch. They don't know if it's true or false because they're not involved. I'm involved. I've been involved with this stuff all my life. But I'm involved. So I know when you're telling the truth or when you're not.

I just see many, many untruthful things. And I tell you what else I see. I see tone. You know the word "tone." The tone is such hatred. I'm really not a bad person, by the way. No, but the tone is such -- I do get good ratings, you have to admit that. The tone is such hatred.

I watched this morning a couple of the networks, and I have to say "Fox & Friends" in the morning, they're very honorable people. They're very -- not because they're good, because they hit me also when I do something wrong. But they have the most honest morning show. That's all I can say. It's the most honest. But the tone, Jim. If you look -- the hatred. I mean, sometimes -- sometimes somebody gets --

Q (Off mic.)

THE PRESIDENT: Well, you look at your show that goes on at 10 o'clock in the evening. You just take a look at that show. That is a constant hit. The panel is almost always exclusive anti-Trump. The good news is he doesn't have good ratings. But the panel is almost exclusive anti-Trump. And the hatred and venom coming from his mouth, the hatred coming from other people on your network.

Now, I will say this. I watch it. I see it. I'm amazed by it. And I just think you'd be a lot better off -- I honestly do. The public gets it, you know. Look, when I go to rallies, they turn around, they start screaming at CNN. They want to throw their placards at CNN.

I think you would do much better by being different. But you just take a look. Take a look at some of your shows in the morning and the evening. If a guest comes out and says something positive about me, it's brutal.

Now, they'll take this news conference. I'm actually having a very good time, okay? But they'll take this news conference -- don't forget that's the way I won. Remember, I used to give you a news conference every time I made a speech, which was like every day.

Q (Off mic.)

THE PRESIDENT: No, that's how I won. I won with news conferences and probably speeches. I certainly didn't win by people listening to you people, that's for sure.

But I am having a good time. Tomorrow they will say, Donald Trump rants and raves at the press. I'm not ranting and raving. I'm just telling you, you're dishonest people. But -- but I'm not ranting and raving. I love this. I'm having a good time doing it. But tomorrow the headlines are going to be: Donald Trump Rants and Raves. I'm not ranting and raving.

Q If I may just --

THE PRESIDENT: Go ahead.

Q One more follow-up because --

THE PRESIDENT: Should I let him have a little bit more? What do you think, Peter?

O Just because of this --

THE PRESIDENT: Peter, should I have let him have a little bit more? Sit down. Sit down.

Q Just because of the attack --

THE PRESIDENT: We'll get it.

Q Just because of the attack of fake news and attacking our network, I just want to ask you, sir --

THE PRESIDENT: I'm changing it from fake news, though.

Q Doesn't that undermine --

THE PRESIDENT: Very fake news now. (Laughter.)

Q But aren't you --

THE PRESIDENT: Yes, go ahead.

Q Real news, Mr. President. Real news.

THE PRESIDENT: And you're not related to our new --

Q I am not related, sir, no. (Laughter.) I do like the sound of Secretary Acosta, I must say.

THE PRESIDENT: I looked -- you know, I looked at that name. I said, wait a minute, is there any relation there? Alex Acosta.

Q I'm sure you checked that out, sir.

THE PRESIDENT: No, I checked it. I said -- they said, no, sir. I said, do me a favor, go back and check the family tree.

Q But aren't you concerned, sir, that you are undermining the people's faith in the First Amendment freedom of the press, the press in this country when you call stories you don't like "fake news"? Why not just say it's a story I don't like?

THE PRESIDENT: I do that.

Q When you call it fake news, you're undermining confidence --

THE PRESIDENT: No, I do that. No, no, I do that.

Q -- in our news media.

THE PRESIDENT: Here's the thing.

Q Isn't that important?

THE PRESIDENT: Okay, I understand -- and you're right about that except this. See, I know when I should get good and when I should get bad. And sometimes I'll say, wow, that's going to be a great story, and I'll get killed. I know what's good and bad. I'd be a pretty good reporter -- not as good as you. But I know what's good. I know what's bad.

And when they change it and make it really bad -- something that should be positive. Sometimes something that should be very positive, they'll make okay. They'll even make it negative. So I understand it because I'm there. I know what was said. I know who is saying it. I'm there. So it's very important to me.

Look, I want to see an honest press. When I started off today by saying that it's so important to the public to get an honest press. The press -- the public doesn't believe you people anymore. Now, maybe I had something to do with that, I don't know. But they don't believe you.

If you were straight and really told it like it is, as Howard Cosell used to say, right? Of course, he had some questions also. But if you were straight, I would be your biggest booster, I would be your biggest fan in the world -- including bad stories about me. But if you go -- as an example, you're CNN -- I mean, it's story after story after story is bad. I won. I won. And the other thing: Chaos. There's zero chaos. We are running -- this is a fine-tuned machine. And Reince happens to be doing a good job. But half of his job is putting out lies by the press.

I said to him yesterday, this whole Russia scam that you guys are building so that you don't talk about the real subject, which is illegal leaks. But I watched him yesterday working so hard to try and get that story proper. And I'm saying, here's my Chief of Staff, a really good guy, did a phenomenal job at RNC. I mean, we won the election, right? We won the presidency. We got some senators. We got some -- all over the country, you take a look, he's done a great job.

And I said to myself, you know -- and I said to somebody that was in the room -- I said, you take a look at Reince, he's working so hard just putting out fires that are fake fires. They're fake. They're not true. And isn't that a shame, because he'd

rather be working on health care. He'd rather be working on tax reform, Jim. I mean that. I would be your biggest fan in the world if you treated me right. I sort of understand there's a certain bias, maybe by Jeff or somebody -- for whatever reason. And I understand that. But you've got to be at least a little bit fair. And that's why the public sees it -- they see it. They see it's not fair. You take a look at some of your shows and you see the bias and the hatred. And the public is smart. They understand it.

Okay, yeah, go ahead.

Q We have no doubt that your latest story is (inaudible). But for those who believe that there is something to it, is there anything that you have learned over these last few weeks that you might be able to reveal that might ease their concerns that this isn't fake news? And secondly --

THE PRESIDENT: I think they don't believe it. I don't think the public would. That's why the Rasmussen poll just has me through the roof. I don't think they believe it. Well, I guess one of the reasons I'm here today is to tell you the whole Russian thing -- that's a ruse. That's a ruse. And, by the way, it would be great if we could get along with Russia, just so you understand that. Now, tomorrow you'll say, Donald Trump wants to get along with Russia, this is terrible. It's not terrible -- it's good.

We had Hillary Clinton try and do a reset. We had Hillary Clinton give Russia 20 percent of the uranium in our country. You know what uranium is, right? It's this thing called nuclear weapons and other things. Like, lots of things are done with uranium, including some bad things. Nobody talks about that. I didn't do anything for Russia. I've done nothing for Russia. Hillary Clinton gave them 20 percent of our uranium. Hillary Clinton did a reset, remember, with the stupid plastic button that made us all look like a bunch of jerks? Here, take a look. He looked at her like, what the hell is she doing with that cheap plastic button? Hillary Clinton -- that was a reset. Remember? It said "reset."

Now, if I do that, oh, I'm a bad guy. If we could get along with Russia, that's a positive thing. We have a very talented man, Rex Tillerson, who is going to be meeting with them shortly. And I told him, I said, I know politically it's probably not good for me. Hey, the greatest thing I could do is shoot that ship that's 30 miles offshore right out of the water. Everyone in this country is going to say, oh, it's so great. That's not great. I would love to be able to get along with Russia.

Now, you've had a lot of Presidents that haven't taken that tact. Look where we are now. Look where we are now. So, if I can -- now, I love to negotiate things. I do it really well and all that stuff, but it's possible I won't be able to get along with Putin. Maybe it is. But I want to just tell you, the false reporting by the media, by you people -- the false, horrible, fake reporting makes it much harder to make a deal with Russia. And probably Putin said, you know -- he's sitting behind his desk and he's saying, you know, I see what's going on in the United States, I follow it closely; it's got to be impossible for President Trump to ever get along with Russia because of all the pressure he's got with this fake story. Okay? And that's a shame. Because if we could get along with Russia -- and, by the way, China and Japan and everyone -- if we could get along, it would be a positive thing, not a negative thing.

- Q Tax reform --
- Q Mr. President, since you --

THE PRESIDENT: Tax reform is going to happen fairly quickly. We're doing Obamacare -- we're in final stages. We should be submitting the initial plan in March, early March, I would say. And we have to, as you know, statutorily and for reasons of budget, we have to go first. It's not like -- frankly, the tax would be easier, in my opinion, but for statutory reasons and for budgetary reasons, we have to submit the health care sooner. So we'll be submitting health care sometime in early March, mid-March. And after that, we're going to come up -- and we're doing very well on tax reform.

Yes.

Q Mr. President, you mentioned Russia. Let's talk about some serious issues that have come up in the last week that you have had to deal with as President of the United States.

THE PRESIDENT: Okay.

Q You mentioned the vessel, the spy vessel, off the coast of the United States.

THE PRESIDENT: Not good.

Q There was a ballistic missile test that many interpreted as a violation --

THE PRESIDENT: Not good.

Q -- of the agreement between the two countries. And a Russian plane buzzed a U.S. destroyer.

THE PRESIDENT: Not good.

Q I listened to you during the campaign --

THE PRESIDENT: Excuse me, excuse me, when did it happen? It happened when -if you were Putin right now, you would say, hey, we're back to the old games with
the United States. There's no way Trump can ever do a deal with us because the -you have to understand, if I was just brutal on Russia right now, just brutal, people
would say, you would say, oh, isn't that wonderful. But I know you well enough.
Then you would say, oh, he was too tough, he shouldn't have done that. Look, of
all --

Q I'm just trying to find out your orientation to those --

THE PRESIDENT: Wait a minute. Wait, wait. Excuse me just one second.

Q I'm just trying to find out what you're doing to do about them, Mr. President.

THE PRESIDENT: All of those things that you mentioned are very recent, because probably Putin assumes that he's not going to be able to make a deal with me because it's politically not popular for me to make a deal. So Hillary Clinton tries to reset, it failed. They all tried. But I'm different than those people.

Go ahead.

Q How are you interpreting those moves? And what do you intend to do about them?

THE PRESIDENT: Just the way I said it.

Q Have you given Rex Tillerson any advice or counsel on how to deal?

THE PRESIDENT: I have. I have. And I'm so beautifully represented. I'm so honored that the Senate approved him. He's going to be fantastic.

Yes, I think that I've already --

Q Is Putin testing you, do you believe, sir?

THE PRESIDENT: No, I don't think so. I think Putin probably assumes that he can't make a deal with me anymore because politically it would be unpopular for a politician to make a deal. I can't believe I'm saying I'm a politician, but I guess that's what I am now. Because, look, it would be much easier for me to be tough on Russia, but then we're not going to make a deal.

Now, I don't know that we're going to make a deal. I don't know. We might, we might not. But it would be much easier for me to be so tough -- the tougher I am on Russia, the better. But you know what, I want to do the right thing for the American people. And to be honest, secondarily, I want to do the right thing for the world.

If Russia and the United States actually got together and got along -- and don't forget, we're a very powerful nuclear country and so are they. There's no upside. We're a very powerful nuclear country and so are they. I've been briefed. And I can tell you, one thing about a briefing that we're allowed to say because anybody that ever read the most basic book can say it: Nuclear holocaust would be like no other. They're a very powerful nuclear country and so are we.

If we have a good relationship with Russia, believe me, that's a good thing, not a bad thing.

Q So when you say they're not good, do you mean that they are --

THE PRESIDENT: Who did I say is not good?

Q No, when I read off the three things that have recently happened and each one of them you said they're not good.

THE PRESIDENT: No, it's not good, but they happened.

Q But do they damage the relationship? Do they undermine this country's ability to work with Russia?

THE PRESIDENT: They all happened recently, and I understand what they're doing, because they're doing the same thing. Now, again, maybe I'm not going to be able to do a deal with Russia, but at least I will have tried. And if I don't, does anybody really think that Hillary Clinton would be tougher on Russia than Donald Trump? Does anybody in this room really believe that? Okay.

But I tell you one thing: She tried to make a deal. She had the reset. She gave all the valuable uranium away. She did other things. You know, they say I'm close to

Russia. Hillary Clinton gave away 20 percent of the uranium in the United States. She's close to Russia. I gave -- you know what I gave to Russia? You know what I gave? Nothing.

Q Can we conclude there will be no response to these particular provocations?

THE PRESIDENT: I'm not going to tell you anything about what response I do. I don't talk about military response. I don't say I'm going into Mosul in four months. "We are going to attack Mosul in four months." Then three months later: "We are going to attack Mosul in one month." "Next week, we are going to attack Mosul." In the meantime, Mosul is very, very difficult. Do you know why? Because I don't talk about military, and I don't talk about certain other things. You're going to be surprised to hear that. And, by the way, my whole campaign, I'd say that. So I don't have to tell you --

Q There will be a response?

THE PRESIDENT: I don't want to be one of these guys that say, "Yes, here's what we're going to do." I don't have to do that.

Q There will be a -- in other words, there will be a response, Mr. President?

THE PRESIDENT: I don't have to tell you what I'm going to do in North Korea. Wait a minute. I don't have to tell you what I'm going to do in North Korea. And I don't have to tell you what I'm going to do with Iran. You know why? Because they shouldn't know. And eventually you guys are going to get tired of asking that question. So when you ask me, what am I going to do with the ship -- the Russian ship, as an example -- I'm not going to tell you. But hopefully, I won't have to do anything. But I'm not going to tell you. Okay.

Q Thanks.

Q Can I just ask you -- thank you very much, Mr. President -- the Trump --

THE PRESIDENT: Where are you from?

Q BBC.

THE PRESIDENT: Okay. Here's another beauty.

Q That's a good line. Impartial, free, and fair.

THE PRESIDENT: Yeah, sure.

Q Mr. President --

THE PRESIDENT: Just like CNN, right?

Q Mr. President, on the travel ban -- we could banter back and forth. On the travel ban, would you accept that that was a good example of the smooth running of government, that fine-tuned --

THE PRESIDENT: Yeah, I do. I do. And let me tell you about the travel --

Q Were there any mistakes in that?

THE PRESIDENT: Wait, wait, wait. I know who you are. Just wait. Let me tell you about the travel ban. We had a very smooth rollout of the travel ban, but we had a bad court. We got a bad decision. We had a court that's been overturned -- again, maybe wrong, but I think it's 80 percent of the time. A lot. We had a bad decision. We're going to keep going with that decision. We're going to put in a new executive order next week sometime. But we had a bad decision. That's the only thing that was wrong with the travel ban.

You had Delta with a massive problem with their computer system at the airports. You had some people that were put out there, brought by very nice buses, and they were put out at various locations. Despite that, the only problem that we had is we had a bad court. We had a court that gave us what I consider to be, with great respect, a very bad decision. Very bad for the safety and security of our country. The rollout was perfect.

Now, what I wanted to do was do the exact same executive order but said one thing -- and I said this to my people: Give them a one-month period of time. But General Kelly, now Secretary Kelly, said, if you do that, all these people will come in, in the month -- the bad ones. You do agree, there are bad people out there, right? They're not everybody that's like you. You have some bad people out there.

So Kelly said, you can't do that. And he was right. As soon as he said it, I said, wow, never thought of it. I said, how about one week? He said, no good. You got to do it immediately, because if you do it immediately, they don't have time to come in. Now, nobody ever reports that, but that's why we did it quickly.

Now, if would have done it a month, everything would have been perfect. The problems is we would have wasted a lot of time, and maybe a lot of lives, because a lot of bad people would have come into our country.

Now, in the meantime, we've vetting very, very strongly. Very, very strongly. But we need help, and we need help by getting that executive order passed.

Q Just a brief follow-up. And if it's so urgent, why not introduce --

THE PRESIDENT: Yes, go ahead.

Q Thank you. I just was hoping that we could get a yes- or-no answer on one of these questions involving Russia. Can you say whether you are aware that anyone who advised your campaign had contacts with Russia during the course of the election?

THE PRESIDENT: Well, I told you, General Flynn obviously was dealing. So that's one person. But he was dealing -- as he should have been --

Q During the election?

THE PRESIDENT: No, no, nobody that I know of.

Q So you're not aware of any contacts during the course of the election?

THE PRESIDENT: Look, look, how many times do I have to answer this question?

Q Can you just say yes or no on it?

THE PRESIDENT: Russia is a ruse. Yeah, I know you have to get up and ask a question, so important. Russia is a ruse. I have nothing to do with Russia, haven't made a phone call to Russia in years. Don't speak to people from Russia. Not that I wouldn't, I just have nobody to speak to. I spoke to Putin twice. He called me on the election -- I told you this -- and he called me on the inauguration, and a few days ago. We had a very good talk, especially the second one -- lasted for a pretty long period of time. I'm sure you probably get it because it was classified, so I'm sure everybody in this room perhaps has it. But we had a very, very good talk. I have nothing to do with Russia. To the best of my knowledge, no person that I deal with does.

Now, Manafort has totally denied it. He denied it. Now, people knew that he was a consultant over in that part of the world for a while, but not for Russia. I think he

represented Ukraine or people having to do with Ukraine, or people that -- whoever. But people knew that. Everybody knew that.

Q But in his capacity as your campaign manager, was he in touch with Russian officials during the election?

THE PRESIDENT: I have -- you know what, he said no. I can only tell you what he -- now, he was replaced long before the election. You know that, right? He was replaced long before the election. When all of this stuff started coming out, it came out during the election. But Paul Manafort, who's a good man also, by the way -- Paul Manafort was replaced long before the election took place. He was only there for a short period of time.

How much longer should we stay here, folks? Five more minutes, is that okay? Five?

Q Mr. President, on national security --

THE PRESIDENT: Wait, let's see, who's -- I want to find a friendly reporter. Are you a friendly reporter? Watch how friendly he is. Wait, wait -- watch how friendly he is. Go ahead. Go ahead.

Q So, first of all, my name is (inaudible) from (inaudible) Magazine. And (inaudible). I haven't seen anybody in my community accuse either yourself or any of the -- anyone on your staff of being anti-Semitic. We have an understanding of (inaudible).

THE PRESIDENT: Thank you.

Q However, what we are concerned about, and what we haven't really heard be addressed is an uptick in anti-Semitism and how the government is planning to take care of it. There have been reports out that 48 bomb threats have been made against Jewish centers all across the country in the last couple of weeks. There are people who are committing anti-Semitic acts or threatening to --

THE PRESIDENT: You see, he said he was going to ask a very simple, easy question. And it's not. It's not. Not a simple question, not a fair question. Okay, sit down. I understand the rest of your question.

So here's the story, folks. Number one, I am the least anti-Semitic person that you've ever seen in your entire life. Number two, racism -- the least racist person. In fact, we did very well relative to other people running as a Republican.

Q (Inaudible.)

THE PRESIDENT: Quiet, quiet, quiet. See, he lied about -- he was going to get up and ask a very straight, simple question. So you know, welcome to the world of the media. But let me just tell you something -- that I hate the charge. I find it repulsive. I hate even the question because people that know me -- and you heard the Prime Minister, you heard Netanyahu yesterday -- did you hear him, Bibi? He said, I've known Donald Trump for a long time, and then he said, forget it.

So you should take that, instead of having to get up and ask a very insulting question like that.

Yeah, go ahead. Go ahead.

Q Thank you. I'm Lisa from the PBS --

THE PRESIDENT: See, it just shows you about the press, but that's the way the press is.

Q Thank you, Mr. President. Lisa Desjardins from the PBS Newshour.

THE PRESIDENT: Good.

Q On national security and immigration, can you give us more details on the executive order you planned for next week, even its broad outlines? Will it be focused on specific countries?

THE PRESIDENT: It's a very fair question.

Q And in addition, on the DACA program for immigration, what is your plan? Do you plan to continue that program or to end it?

THE PRESIDENT: We're going to show great heart. DACA is a very, very difficult subject for me, I will tell you. To me, it's one of the most difficult subjects I have, because you have these incredible kids, in many cases -- not in all cases. In some of the cases they're having DACA and they're gang members and they're drug dealers too. But you have some absolutely incredible kids -- I would say mostly -- they were brought here in such a way -- it's a very, very tough subject.

We are going to deal with DACA with heart. I have to deal with a lot of politicians, don't forget, and I have to convince them that what I'm saying is right. And I appreciate your understanding on that.

But the DACA situation is a very, very -- it's a very difficult thing for me. Because, you know, I love these kids. I love kids. I have kids and grandkids. And I find it very, very hard doing what the law says exactly to do. And you know, the law is rough. I'm not talking about new laws. I'm talking the existing law is very rough. It's very, very rough.

As far as the new order, the new order is going to be very much tailored to what I consider to be a very bad decision, but we can tailor the order to that decision and get just about everything, in some ways more. But we're tailoring it now to the decision. We have some of the best lawyers in the country working on it. And the new executive order is being tailored to the decision we got down from the court. Okay?

Q Mr. President, Melania Trump announced the reopening of the White House Visitors Office.

THE PRESIDENT: Yes.

Q And she does a lot of great work for the country as well. Can you tell us a little bit about what First Lady Melania Trump does for the country? And there is a unique level of interest in your administration, so by opening the White House Visitors Office, what does that mean to you?

THE PRESIDENT: Now, that's what I call a nice question. That is very nice. Who are you with?

Q (Inaudible.)

THE PRESIDENT: Good. I'm going to start watching. Thank you very much.

Melania is terrific. She was here last night. We had dinner with Senator Rubio and his wife, who is, by the way, lovely. And we had a really good discussion about Cuba because we have very similar views on Cuba. And Cuba was very good to me in the Florida election as you know, the Cuban people, Americans. And I think that Melania is going to be outstanding. That's right, she just opened up the Visitors Center -- in other words, touring of the White House.

She, like others that she's working with, feels very, very strongly about women's issues, women's difficulties, very, very strongly. And she's a very, very strong advocate. I think she's a great representative for this country. And a funny thing happens because she gets so unfairly maligned. The things they say -- I've known her for a long time. She was a very successful person. She was a very successful model. She did really well. She would go home at night and didn't even want to go out with people. She was a very private person. She was always the highest quality that you'll ever find. And the things they say -- and I've known her for a long time -- the things they say are so unfair. And actually, she's been apologized to, as you know, by various media because they said things that were lies.

I'd just tell you this: I think she's going to be a fantastic First Lady. She's going to be a tremendous representative of women and of the people. And helping her and working with her will be Ivanka, who is a fabulous person and a fabulous, fabulous woman. And they're not doing this for money. They're not doing this for pay. They're doing this because they feel it, both of them. And Melania goes back and forth, and after Barron finishes school -- because it's hard to take a child out of school with a few months left -- she and Barron will be moving over to the White House. Thank you. That's a very nice question.

Go ahead.

Q Mr. President.

THE PRESIDENT: Yes. Oh, this is going to be a bad question but that's okay.

Q No, it's not going to be a bad question.

THE PRESIDENT: Good, because I enjoy watching you on television.

Q Well, thank you so much. Mr. President, I need to find out from you -- you said something as it relates to inner cities. That was one of your platforms during your campaign.

THE PRESIDENT: Fix the inner cities, yes.

Q Fixing the inner cities. What will be that fix and your urban agenda, as well as your HBCU executive order that's coming out this afternoon? See, it wasn't bad, was it?

THE PRESIDENT: That was very professional and very good.

Q I'm very professional.

THE PRESIDENT: We'll be announcing the order in a little while, and I'd rather let the order speak for itself. But it will be something I think that will be very good for everybody concerned. But we'll talk to you about that after we do the announcement.

As far as the inner cities, as you know, I was very strong on the inner cities during the campaign. I think it's probably what got me a much higher percentage of the African American vote than a lot of people thought I was going to get. We did much higher than people thought I was going to get and I was honored by that, including the Hispanic vote, which was also much higher. And, by the way, if I might add, including the women's vote, which was much higher than people thought I was going to get.

So we are going to be working very hard on the inner cities having to do with education, having to do with crime. We're going to try and fix as quickly as possible -- you know it takes a long time. It's taken 100 years or more for some of these places to evolve, and they evolved many of them very badly.

But we're going to be working very hard on health and health care; very, very hard on education. And also, we're going to working in a stringent way, and a very good way, on crime. You go to some of these inner city places, and it's so sad when you look at the crime. You have people -- and I've seen this, and I've sort of witnessed it. In fact, in two cases, I have actually witnessed it. They lock themselves into apartments, petrified to even leave, in the middle of the day. They're living in hell. We can't let that happen. So we're going to be very, very strong.

It's a great question, and it's a very difficult situation, because it's been many, many years. It's been festering for many, many years. But we have places in this country that we have to fix. We have to help African American people that, for the most part are stuck there -- Hispanic American people. We have Hispanic American people that are in the inner cities, and they're living in hell.

I mean, you look at the numbers in Chicago. There are two Chicagos, as you know. There's one Chicago that's incredible, luxurious and all, and safe. There's another Chicago that's worse than almost any of the places in the Middle East that we talk about, and that you talk about every night on the newscasts. So we're going to do a lot of work on the inner cities. I have great people lined up to help with the inner cities.

Q Well, when you say -- when you say the inner cities, are you going to include the CBC, Mr. President, in your conversations with your urban agenda, your inner city agenda, as well as your --

THE PRESIDENT: Am I going include who?

Q Are you going to include the Congressional Black Caucus and the Congressional Hispanic Caucus, as well as --

THE PRESIDENT: Well, I would. I tell you what, do you want to set up the meeting? Do you want to set up the meeting?

Q No, no, no.

THE PRESIDENT: Are they friends of yours?

Q I'm just a reporter.

THE PRESIDENT: No, go ahead, set up the meeting.

Q I know some of them, but I'm sure they're watching right now.

THE PRESIDENT: Let's go set up a meeting. I would love to meet with the Black Caucus. I think it's great -- the Congressional Black Caucus. I think it's great. I actually thought I had a meeting with Congressman Cummings, and he was all excited, and then he said, oh, I can't move, it might be bad for me politically, I can't have that meeting. I was all set to have the meeting. You know, we called him and called him, and he was all set. I spoke to him on the phone. Very nice guy.

Q I hear he wanted that meeting with you as well.

THE PRESIDENT: He wanted it. But we called, called, called, called -- they can't make a meeting with him. Every day, I walked in, I said, I would like to meet with him. Because I do want to solve the problem. But he probably was told by Schumer or somebody like that -- some other lightweight -- he was probably told -- he was probably told, don't meet with Trump, it's bad politics. And that's part of the problem of this country.

Okay, one more. Go ahead.

Q Yes, Mr. President, two questions --

THE PRESIDENT: No, no. One question. Two, we can't handle. This room can't handle two. Go ahead, give me the better of your two.

Q (Inaudible) it's not about your personality or your beliefs. We're talking about (inaudible) around the country, some of it by supporters in your name. What do you --

THE PRESIDENT: And some of it -- and can I be honest with you? And this has to do with racism and horrible things that are put up. Some of it written by our opponents. You do know that. Do you understand that? You don't think anybody would do a thing like that. Some of the signs you'll see are not put up by the people that love or like Donald Trump, they're put up by the other side, and you think it's like playing it straight. No. But you have some of those signs, and some of that anger is caused by the other side. They'll do signs and they'll do drawings that are inappropriate. It won't be my people. It will be the people on the other side to anger people like you. Okay.

Go ahead.

Q You are the President now. What are you going to do about it?

THE PRESIDENT: Who is that? Where is that? Oh, stand up. You can --

Q What are you going to do about the tensions that have been discussed?

THE PRESIDENT: Oh, I'm working on it. No, I'm working on it very hard.

Q Are you going to give a speech?

THE PRESIDENT: No, no, look. Hey, just so you understand, we had a totally divided country for eight years, and long before that, in all fairness to President Obama. Long before President Obama, we have had a very divided. I didn't come along and divide this country. This country was seriously divided before I got here.

We're going to work on it very hard. One of the questions that was asked -- I thought it was a very good question -- was about the inner cities. I mean, that's part of it. But we're going to work on education. We're going to work on lack -- you know, we're going to stop -- we're going to try and stop the crime. We have great law enforcement officials. We're going to try and stop crime. We're not going to try and stop, we're going to stop crime.

But it's very important to me. But this isn't Donald Trump that divided a nation. We went eight years with President Obama, and we went many years before President Obama. We lived in a divided nation. And I am going to try -- I will do everything within my power to fix that.

I want to thank everybody very much. It's a great honor to be with you. Thank you. Thank you very much. (Applause.)

END

2:13 P.M. EST



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Transcript of AP interview with Trump

The Associated Press Apr. 23, 2017



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A transcript of an Oval Office interview Friday with President Donald Trump by AP White House Correspondent Julie Pace. Where the audio recording of the interview is unclear, ellipses or a notation that the recording was unintelligible are used.

AP: I do want to talk to you about the 100 days.

TRUMP: Good.

AP: I want to ask a few questions on some topics that are happening toward the end of the interview.

TRUMP: Did you see Aya (Hijazi, an Egyptian-American charity worker who had been detained in the country for nearly three years) ...

AP: Can you tell me a little bit about how that came about?

TRUMP: No, just — you know, I asked the government to let her out. ...

TRUMP: You know Obama worked on it for three years, got zippo, zero.

AP: How did you hear about this story?

TRUMP: Many people, human rights people, are talking about it. It's an incredible thing, especially when you meet her. You realize — I mean, she was in a rough place.

AP: Did you have to strike a deal with (Egyptian President Abdel-Fattah) el-Sissi over this?

TRUMP: No. No deal. He was here. He — I said, "I really would appreciate it if you would look into this and let her out." And as you know, she went through a trial. And anyway, she was let go. And not only she, it was a total of eight people. ...

TRUMP: Yeah, it's funny: One of the best chemistries I had was with (German Chancellor Angela) Merkel.

(Crosstalk) AP: Really?

TRUMP: Chancellor Merkel.

TRUMP: And I guess somebody shouted out, "Shake her hand, shake her hand," you know. But I never heard it. But I had already shaken her hand four times. You know, because we were together for a long time.

AP: Did you expect you would have good chemistry with her?

TRUMP: No. Because, um, I'm at odds on, you know, the NATO payments and I'm at odds on immigration. We had unbelievable chemistry. And people have given me credit for having great chemistry with all of the leaders, including el-Sissi. ...

TRUMP: So it was a great thing to see that happen.

https://www.apnews.com/c810d7de280a47e88848b0ac74690c83

AP: Do you feel like you have changed the office of the presidency, how the presidency can be used to effect change?



TRUMP: I think the 100 days is, you know, it's an artificial barrier. It's not very meaningful. I think I've established amazing relationships that will be used the four or eight years, whatever period of time I'm here. I think for that I would be getting very high marks because I've established great relationships with countries, as President el-Sissi has shown and others have shown. Well, if you look at the president of China, people said they've never seen anything like what's going on right now. I really liked him a lot. I think he liked me. We have a great chemistry together. ...

TRUMP: I've developed great relationships with all of these leaders. Nobody's written that. In fact, they said, "Oh, well, he's not treating them nicely," because on NATO, I want them to pay up. But I still get along with them great, and they will pay up. In fact, with the Italian prime minister yesterday, you saw, we were joking, "Come on, you have to pay up, you have to pay up." He'll pay.

AP: Did he say that? In your meeting? Your private meeting?

TRUMP: He's going to end up paying. But you know, nobody ever asked the question. Nobody asked. Nobody ever asked him to pay up. So it's a different kind of a presidency.

AP: Do you feel like that's one thing that you've changed, that you maybe are actually asking the direct questions about some of these things?

TRUMP: Yeah. Let me give me an example. A little before I took office there was a terrible article about the F-35 fighter jet. It was hundreds of billions of dollars over budget. It was seven years behind schedule. It was a disaster. So I called in Lockheed and I said, "I'm sorry, we're going to have to bid this out to another company, namely Boeing," or whoever else. But Boeing. And I called in Boeing and I started getting competing offers back and forth. ...

TRUMP: I saved \$725 million on the 90 planes. Just 90. Now there are 3,000 planes that are going to be ordered. On 90 planes I saved \$725 million. It's actually a little bit more than that, but it's \$725 million. Gen. Mattis, who had to sign the deal when it came to his office, said, "I've never seen anything like this in my life." We went from a company that wanted more money for the planes to a company that cut. And the reason they cut — same planes, same everything — was because of me. I mean, because that's what I do.

TRUMP: Now if you multiply that times 3,000 planes, you know this is on 90 planes. In fact, when the Prime Minister (Shinzo) Abe of Japan came in because they bought a certain number of those ... The first thing he said to me, because it was right at the time I did it, he said, "Could I thank you?" I said, "What?" He said, "You saved us \$100 million." Because they got a \$100 million savings on the 10 or 12 planes that they (bought). Nobody wrote that story. Now you know that's a saving of billions and billions of dollars, many billions of dollars over the course of — it's between 2,500 and 3,000 planes will be the final order. But this was only 90 of those 2,500 planes.

AP: And you expect those savings to carry out across that full order?

TRUMP: More. I'm gonna get more than that. This was a thing that was out of control and now it's great. And the woman that runs Lockheed, Marillyn (Hewson), she was great. But all of a sudden it was a different kind of a thing. You know?

AP: Do you feel like you've been able to apply that kind of a relationship to your dealings with Congress as well?

TRUMP: I have great relationships with Congress. I think we're doing very well and I think we have a great foundation for future things. We're going to be applying, I shouldn't tell you this, but we're going to be announcing, probably on Wednesday, tax reform. And it's — we've worked on it long and hard. And you've got to understand, I've only been here now 93 days, 92 days. President Obama took 17 months to do Obamacare. I've been here 92 days but I've only been working on the health care, you know I had to get like a little bit of grounding right? Health care started after 30 day(s), so I've been working on health care for 60 days. ...You know, we're very close. And it's a great plan, you know, we have to get it approved.

AP: Is it this deal that's between the Tuesday Group and the Freedom Caucus, is that the deal you're looking at?

TRUMP: So the Republican Party has various groups, all great people. They're great people. But some are moderate, some are very conservative. The Democrats don't seem to have that nearly as much. You know the Democrats have, they don't have that. The Republicans do have that. And I think it's fine. But you know there's a pretty vast area in there. And I have a great relationship with all of them. Now, we have government not closing. I think we'll be in great shape on that. It's going very well. Obviously, that takes precedent.

AP: That takes precedent over health care? For next week?

TRUMP: Yeah, sure. Next week. Because the hundred days is just an artificial barrier. The press keeps talking about the hundred days. But we've done a lot. You have a list of things. I don't have to read it.

AP: You did put out though, as a candidate, you put out a 100-day plan. Do you feel like you should be held accountable to that plan?

TRUMP: Somebody, yeah, somebody put out the concept of a hundred-day plan. But yeah. Well, I'm mostly there on most items. Go over the items, and I'll talk to you ...

(Crosstalk.)

TRUMP: But things change. There has to be flexibility. Let me give you an example. President Xi, we have a, like, a really great relationship. For me to call him a currency manipulator and then say, "By the way, I'd like you to solve the North Korean problem," doesn't work. So you have to have a certain flexibility, Number One. Number Two, from the time I took office till now, you know, it's a very exact thing. It's not like generalities. Do you want a Coke or anything?

AP: I'm OK, thank you. No. ...

TRUMP: But President Xi, from the time I took office, he has not, they have not been currency manipulators. Because there's a certain respect because he knew I would do something or whatever. But more importantly than him not being a currency manipulator the bigger picture, bigger than even currency manipulation, if he's helping us with North Korea, with nuclear and all of the things that go along with it, who would call, what am I going to do, say, "By the way, would you help us with North Korea? And also, you're a currency manipulator." It doesn't work that way.

AP: Right.

TRUMP: And the media, some of them get it, in all fairness. But you know some of them either don't get it, in which case they're very stupid people, or they just don't want to say it. You know because of a couple of them said, "He didn't call them a currency manipulator." Well, for two reasons. Number One, he's not, since my time. You know, very specific formula. You would think it's like generalities, it's not. They have — they've actually — their currency's gone up. So it's a very, very specific formula. And I said, "How badly have they been," ... they said, "Since you got to office they have not manipulated their currency." That's Number One, but much more important, they are working with

us on North Korea. Now maybe that'll work out or maybe it won't. Can you imagine? ...

AP: So in terms of the 100-day plan that you did put out during the campaign, do you feel, though, that people should hold you accountable to this in terms of judging success?

TRUMP: No, because much of the foundation's been laid. Things came up. I'll give you an example. I didn't put Supreme Court judge on the 100 (day) plan, and I got a Supreme Court judge.

AP: I think it's on there.

TRUMP: I don't know. ...

AP: "Begin the process of selecting." You actually exceeded on this one. This says, "Begin the process of selecting a replacement."

TRUMP: That's the biggest thing I've done.

AP: Do you consider that your biggest success?

TRUMP: Well, I — first of all I think he's a great man. I think he will be a great, great justice of the Supreme Court. I have always heard that the selection and the affirmation of a Supreme Court judge is the biggest thing a president can do. Don't forget, he could be there for 40 years. ... He's a young man. I've always heard that that's the biggest thing. Now, I would say that defense is the biggest thing. You know, to be honest, there are a number of things. But I've always heard that the highest calling is the nomination of a Supreme Court justice. I've done one in my first 70 days.

TRUMP: Our military is so proud. They were not proud at all. They had their heads down. Now they have their heads up. ...

TRUMP: I'm rebuilding the military. We have great people. We have great things in place. We have tremendous borders. I mention the F-35 because if I can save \$725 million — look at that, that's a massive amount of money. And I'll save more as we make more planes. If I can save that on a small number of planes — Gen. (Jim) Mattis (the defense secretary) said, "I've

never seen anything like this," because he had to sign the ultimate (unintelligible) ... He had to sign the ultimate, you know. He said, "I've never seen anything like this before, as long as I've been in the military." You know, that kind of cutting.

AP: Right.

TRUMP: Now, if I can do that (unintelligible) ... As an example, the aircraft carriers, billions of dollars, the Gerald Ford, billions and billions over budget. That won't happen.

AP: Is that something you're going to take on?

TRUMP: (unintelligible) But as we order the other ones, because they want to order 12, the other ones are going to come in much less expensive. ...

AP: Can I ask you, over your first 100 days — you're not quite there yet — how do you feel like the office has changed you?

TRUMP: Well the one thing I would say — and I say this to people — I never realized how big it was. Everything's so (unintelligible) like, you know the orders are so massive. I was talking to —

AP: You mean the responsibility of it, or do you mean —

TRUMP: Number One, there's great responsibility. When it came time to, as an example, send out the 59 missiles, the Tomahawks in Syria. I'm saying to myself, "You know, this is more than just like, 79 (sic) missiles. This is death that's involved," because people could have been killed. This is risk that's involved, because if the missile goes off and goes in a city or goes in a civilian area — you know, the boats were hundreds of miles away — and if this missile goes off and lands in the middle of a town or a hamlet every decision is much harder than you'd normally make. (unintelligible) ... This is involving death and life and so many things. ... So it's far more responsibility. (unintelligible) The financial cost of everything is so massive, every agency. This is thousands of times bigger, the United States, than the biggest company in the world. The

second-largest company in the world is the Defense
Department. The third-largest company in the world is Social
Security. The fourth-largest — you know, you go down the list.

AP: Right.

TRUMP. It's massive. And every agency is, like, bigger than any company. So you know, I really just see the bigness of it all, but also the responsibility. And the human responsibility. You know, the human life that's involved in some of the decisions.

AP: You've talked a little bit about the way that you've brought some business skills into the office. Is there anything from your business background that just doesn't translate into the presidency, that just simply is not applicable to this job?

TRUMP: Well in business, you don't necessarily need heart, whereas here, almost everything affects people. So if you're talking about health care — you have health care in business but you're trying to just negotiate a good price on health care, et cetera, et cetera. You're providing health. This is (unintelligible). Here, everything, pretty much everything you do in government, involves heart, whereas in business, most things don't involve heart.

AP: What's that switch been like for you?

TRUMP: In fact, in business you're actually better off without it.

AP: What's making that switch been like for you?

TRUMP: You have to love people. And if you love people, such a big responsibility. (unintelligible) You can take any single thing, including even taxes. I mean we're going to be doing major tax reform. Here's part of your story, it's going to be a big (unintelligible). Everybody's saying, "Oh, he's delaying." I'm not delaying anything. I'll tell you the other thing is (unintelligible). I used to get great press. I get the worst press. I get such dishonest reporting with the media. That's another thing that really has — I've never had anything like it before. It happened during the primaries, and I said, you know, when I won, I said,

"Well the one thing good is now I'll get good press." And it got worse. (unintelligible) So that was one thing that a little bit of a surprise to me. I thought the press would become better, and it actually, in my opinion, got more nasty.

AP: But in terms of tax reform, how are you going to roll that out next week?

TRUMP: Well I'm going to roll (out) probably on Wednesday, around Wednesday of next week, we're putting out a massive tax reform — business and for people — we want to do both. We've been working on it (unintelligible). Secretary Mnuchin is a very talented person, very smart. Very successful (unintelligible). ... We're going to be putting that out on Wednesday or shortly thereafter. Let me leave a little room just in case (unintelligible). ... And that's a big story, because a lot of people think I'm going to put it out much later.

AP: Do you have any details on that in terms of rates?

TRUMP: Only in terms that it will be a massive tax cut. It will be bigger, I believe, than any tax cut ever. Maybe the biggest tax cut we've ever had. ...

AP: Obviously, that's going to come in a week where you're going to be running up against the deadline for keeping the government open. If you get a bill on your desk that does not include funding for the wall, will you sign it?

TRUMP: I don't know yet. People want the border wall. My base definitely wants the border wall, my base really wants it — you've been to many of the rallies. OK, the thing they want more than anything is the wall. My base, which is a big base; I think my base is 45 percent. You know, it's funny. The Democrats, they have a big advantage in the electoral college. Big, big, big advantage. I've always said the popular vote would be a lot easier than the electoral college. The electoral college — but it's a whole different campaign (unintelligible). The electoral college is very difficult for a Republican to win, and I will tell

you, the people want to see it. They want to see the wall, they want to see security. Now, it just came out that they're 73 percent down. ... That's a tremendous achievement. ... Look at this, in 100 days, that down to the lowest in 17 years and it's going lower. Now, people aren't coming because they know they're not going to get through, and there isn't crime. You know the migration up to the border is horrible for women, you know that? (Unintelligible.) Now, much of that's stopped because they can't get through.

AP: It sounds like maybe you're beginning to send a message that if you do get a spending bill that doesn't have border funding in there, you would sign it.

TRUMP: Well, first of all, the wall will cost much less than the numbers I'm seeing. I'm seeing numbers, I mean, this wall is not going to be that expensive.

AP: What do you think the estimate on it would be?

TRUMP: Oh I'm seeing numbers — \$24 billion, I think I'll do it for \$10 billion or less. That's not a lot of money relative to what we're talking about. If we stop 1 percent of the drugs from coming in — and we'll stop all of it. But if we stop 1 percent of the drugs because we have the wall — they're coming around in certain areas, but if you have a wall, they can't do it because it's a real wall. That's a tremendously good investment, 1 percent. The drugs pouring through on the southern border are unbelievable. We're becoming a drug culture, there's so much. And most of it's coming from the southern border. The wall will stop the drugs.

AP: But, just trying to nail you down on it one more time, will you sign a spending bill if it doesn't have —

TRUMP: I don't want to comment. I just don't know yet. I mean, I have to see what's going on. I really do. But the wall's a very important thing to — not only my base, but to the people. And even if it wasn't, I mean I'll do things that aren't necessarily popular. ... The wall is very important to stopping drugs.

AP: If you don't have a funding stream, your message to your base is what?

TRUMP: My base understands the wall is going to get built, whether I have it funded here or if I get it funded shortly thereafter, that wall's getting built, OK? One hundred percent. One hundred percent it's getting built. And it's also getting built for much less money — I hope you get this — than these people are estimating. The opponents are talking \$25 billion for the wall. It's not going to cost anywhere near that.

AP: You think \$10 billion or less.

TRUMP: I think \$10 billion or less. And if I do a super-duper, higher, better, better security, everything else, maybe it goes a little bit more. But it's not going to be anywhere near (those) kind of numbers. And they're using those numbers; they're using the high numbers to make it sound impalatable (sic). And the fact it's going to cost much less money, just like the airplane I told you about, which I hope you can write about.

(Off-the-record discussion.)

TRUMP: They had a quote from me that NATO's obsolete. But they didn't say why it was obsolete. I was on Wolf Blitzer, very fair interview, the first time I was ever asked about NATO, because I wasn't in government. People don't go around asking about NATO if I'm building a building in Manhattan, right? So they asked me, Wolf ... asked me about NATO, and I said two things. NATO's obsolete — not knowing much about NATO, now I know a lot about NATO — NATO is obsolete, and I said, "And the reason it's obsolete is because of the fact they don't focus on terrorism." You know, back when they did NATO there was no such thing as terrorism.

AP: What specifically has NATO changed?

TRUMP: (Cites Wall Street Journal article) ... I did an interview with Wolf Blitzer, and I said NATO was obsolete — I said two things — obsolete, and the country's aren't paying. I was right about both. I took such heat for about three days on both, because nobody ever criticized NATO. I took heat like you

wouldn't believe. And then some expert on NATO said, "You know, Trump is right." But I said it was obsolete because they weren't focused on terror. ...

It's not fair that we're paying close to 4 percent and other countries that are more directly affected are paying 1 percent when they're supposed to be paying 2 percent. And I'm very strong on it and I'm going to be very strong on it when I go there in a month."

AP: This morning you tweeted that after the possible terrorist attack in Paris, that it will have a big effect on the upcoming French election. What did you mean by that?

TRUMP: Well, I think it will have a big effect on who people are going to vote for in the election.

AP: Do you think it's going to help Marine Le Pen?

TRUMP: I think so.

AP: Do you believe that she should be the president?

TRUMP: No, I have no comment on that, but I think that it'll probably help her because she is the strongest on borders and she is the strongest on what's been going on in France.

AP: Do you worry at all that by saying that, that a terrorist attack would have an impact on a democratic election, that it would actually embolden terrorists to try to —.

TRUMP: No. Look, everybody is making predictions who is going to win. I am no different than you, you could say the same thing. ...

AP: I just wonder if you are encouraging, you are the president of the United States, so to say that you worry that it encourages terrorists ...

TRUMP: No, I am no different than — no, I think it discourages terrorists, I think it discourages. I think what we've done on the border discourages it. I think that my stance on having people

come in to this country that we have no idea who they are and in certain cases you will have radical Islamic terrorism. I'm not going to have it in this country. I'm not going to let what happened to France and other places happen here. And it's already largely, you know — we have tens — we have hundreds of thousands of people that have been allowed into our country that should not be here. They shouldn't be here. We have people allowed into our country with no documentation whatsoever. They have no documentation and they were allowed under the previous administrations, they were allowed into our country. It's a big mistake.

AP: Just so that I am clear. You are not endorsing her for the office, but you are —

TRUMP: I am not endorsing her and I didn't mention her name.

AP: Right, I just wanted to make sure I have that clear.

TRUMP: I believe whoever is the toughest on radical Islamic terrorism and whoever is the toughest at the borders will do well at the election. I am not saying that person is going to win, she is not even favored to win, you know. Right now, she is in second place.

AP: I have a question on the markets, actually. One thing that I think has been different about this White House is that you do point to the markets as a sign of progress. Do you worry, though — I mean, the markets go up and down.

TRUMP: You live by the sword, you die by the sword, to a certain extent. But we create a lot of jobs, 500,000 jobs as of two months ago, and plenty created since. Five hundred thousand. ... As an example, Ford, General Motors. I've had cases where the gentleman from China, Ma, Jack Ma (chairman of Alibaba Group), he comes up, he says, "Only because of you am I making this massive investment." Intel, only because of you. ... The press never writes that.

AP: What about NAFTA? What's the plan on NAFTA?

TRUMP: What would you like to know?

AP: I would like to know what your plan is in terms of renegotiating.

TRUMP: I am very upset with NAFTA. I think NAFTA has been a catastrophic trade deal for the United States, trading agreement for the United States. It hurts us with Canada, and it hurts us with Mexico. Most people don't even think of NAFTA in terms of Canada. You saw what happened yesterday in my statements, because if you look at the dairy farmers in Wisconsin and upstate New York, they are getting killed by NAFTA.

AP: Is your plan still, though, to renegotiate the whole deal?

TRUMP: I am going to either renegotiate it or I am going to terminate it.

AP: Termination is still on the table.

TRUMP: Absolutely. If they don't treat fairly, I am terminating NAFTA.

AP: What's a timeline for that decision?

TRUMP: It's a six-month termination clause, I have the right to do it, it's a six-month clause.

AP: If I could fit a couple of more topics. Jeff Sessions, your attorney general, is taking a tougher line suddenly on Julian Assange, saying that arresting him is a priority. You were supportive of what WikiLeaks was doing during the campaign with the release of the Clinton emails. Do you think that arresting Assange is a priority for the United States?

TRUMP: When Wikileaks came out ... never heard of Wikileaks, never heard of it. When Wikileaks came out, all I was just saying is, "Well, look at all this information here, this is pretty good stuff." You know, they tried to hack the Republican, the RNC,

but we had good defenses. They didn't have defenses, which is pretty bad management. But we had good defenses, they tried to hack both of them. They weren't able to get through to Republicans. No, I found it very interesting when I read this stuff and I said, "Wow." It was just a figure of speech. I said, "Well, look at this. It's good reading."

AP: But that didn't mean that you supported what Assange is doing?

TRUMP: No, I don't support or unsupport. It was just information. They shouldn't have allowed it to get out. If they had the proper defensive devices on their internet, you know, equipment, they wouldn't even allow the FBI. How about this — they get hacked, and the FBI goes to see them, and they won't let the FBI see their server. But do you understand, nobody ever writes it. Why wouldn't (former Hillary Clinton campaign chairman John) Podesta and Hillary Clinton allow the FBI to see the server? They brought in another company that I hear is Ukrainian-based.

AP: CrowdStrike?

TRUMP: That's what I heard. I heard it's owned by a very rich Ukrainian, that's what I heard. But they brought in another company to investigate the server. Why didn't they allow the FBI in to investigate the server? I mean, there is so many things that nobody writes about. It's incredible.

AP: Can I just ask you, though — do you believe it is a priority for the United States, or it should be a priority, to arrest Julian Assange?

TRUMP: I am not involved in that decision, but if Jeff Sessions wants to do it, it's OK with me. I didn't know about that decision, but if they want to do it, it's OK with me.

AP: On Iran, which is another thing you talked a lot on the campaign —

TRUMP: And the other thing that we should go after is the leakers. ...

AP: On Iran, you also talked about it quite a bit on the campaign trail. And you said in the press conference yesterday that you think that Iran is violating the spirit of the agreement. When you say that, do you mean in terms of the actual nuclear accord, or do you mean what they are doing in the region?

TRUMP: In terms of what they are doing all over the Middle East and beyond.

AP: So you believe that they are complying with the agreement?

TRUMP: No, I don't say that. I say that I believe they have broken the spirit of the agreement. There is a spirit to agreements, and they have broken it.

AP: In terms of what they are doing elsewhere in the Middle East?

TRUMP: In terms of what they are doing of all over.

AP: When you talk to European leaders, when you talk to Merkel, for example, or Teresa May, what do they say about the nuclear deal? Do they want you to stay in that deal?

TRUMP: I don't talk to them about it.

AP: You don't talk to them about the Iran deal?

TRUMP: I mention it, but it's very personal when I talk to them, you know, it's confidential. No, they have their own opinions. I don't say that they are different than my opinions, but I'd rather have you ask them that question.

AP: At this point, do you believe that you will stay in the nuclear deal?

TRUMP: It's possible that we won't.

AP: Dreamers, you've talked about them, you've talked about heart earlier. This is one area where you have talked —

TRUMP: No, we aren't looking to do anything right now. Look, the dreamers ... this is an interesting case, they left and they came back and he's got some problems, it's a little different than the dreamer case, right? But we are putting MS-13 in jail and getting them the hell out of our country. They've taken over towns and cities and we are being really brutal with MS-13, and that's what we should be. They are a bad group, and somebody said they are as bad as al-Qaida, which is a hell of a reference. So we are moving criminals out of our country and we are getting them out in record numbers and those are the people we are after. We are not after the dreamers, we are after the criminals.

AP: And that's going to be the policy of your administration to allow the dreamers to stay?

TRUMP: Yes. Yes. That's our policy. I am not saying ... long-term, we are going to have to fix the problem, the whole immigration problem. But I will tell you: Right now we have a great gentleman, one of my real stars is Gen. (John) Kelly, now (Homeland Security) Secretary Kelly. We are down 73 percent at the border, we are cleaning out cities and towns of hard-line criminals, some of the worst people on earth, people that rape and kill women, people that are killing people just for the sake of having fun. They are being thrown in jails and they are being ... all over the country and nobody's ever done it like us, so we are being unbelievably thorough with that. We are out in Long Island cleaning out the MS-13 scum, they are all scum, that's probably the worst gang anywhere on Earth. ...

AP: A lot of the dreamers have been hoping to hear something from you. I don't want to give them the wrong message with this.

TRUMP: Here is what they can hear: The dreamers should rest easy. OK? I'll give you that. The dreamers should rest easy. ...

(An aide talks about the president's address to Congress.)

TRUMP: A lot of the people have said that, some people said it was the single best speech ever made in that chamber.

AP: You seem like you enjoyed it.

TRUMP: I did. I did. I believed in it and I enjoyed it. It was a great feeling to introduce the wife of a great young soldier who died getting us very valuable information. Have you seen the tremendous success? ... That's another thing that nobody talks about. Have you seen the tremendous success we've had in the Middle East with the ISIS (an abbreviation for the Islamic State group)? When (current Iraqi Prime Minister Haider al) Abadi left from Iraq, he said Trump has more success in eight weeks than Obama had in eight years. ... We have had tremendous success, but we don't talk about it. We don't talk about it.

AP: Do you mean you don't talk about it personally because you don't want to talk about it?

TRUMP: I don't talk about it. No. And the generals don't talk about it.

AP: You had put a request into the Pentagon to put forward an ISIS plan within 30 days. I know they have sent that over. Have

you accepted a plan? Are you moving forward on a strategy?

TRUMP: We have a very strong plan, but we cannot talk about it, Julie.

AP: So you have decided on a plan?

TRUMP: Remember how many times have you been to the speech where I talked about Mosul.

AP: Right.

TRUMP. Right. Mosul. Four months we are going in, three months. We are still fighting Mosul. You know why? Because they were prepared. If we would have gone in and just done it, it would have been over three months ago.

AP: Can you say generally what the strategy is? Should people —

TRUMP: Generally is we have got to get rid of ISIS. We have no choice. And other terrorist organizations.

AP: Should Americans who are serving in the military expect that you are going to increase troop numbers in the Middle East to fight ISIS?

TRUMP: No, not much.

AP: In terms of the strategy, though, that you have accepted, it sounds like, from the generals —

TRUMP: Well, they've also accepted my strategy.

AP: Does that involve more troops on the ground, it sounds like?

TRUMP: Not many.

AP: So a small increase?

TRUMP: It could be an increase, then an increase. But not many more. I want to do the job, but not many more. ... This is an important story. I've done a lot. I've done more than any other president in the first 100 days and I think the first 100 days is an artificial barrier. And I'm scheduled ... the foundations have been set to do some great things. With foreign countries. Look at, look at President Xi. I mean ...

AP: What do you think it was about your chemistry?

TRUMP: We had good chemistry. Now I don't know that I think that's going to produce results but you've got a good chance.

AP: Uh-huh.

TRUMP: Look, he turned down many coal ships. These massive coal ships are coming where they get a lot of their income. They're coming into China and they're being turned away. That's never happened before. The fuel, the oil, so many different things. You saw the editorial they had in their paper saying they cannot be allowed to have nuclear, you know, et cetera. People have said they've never seen this ever before in China. We have the same relationship with others. There's a great foundation that's built. Great foundation. And I think it's going to produce tremendous results for our country.

AP: One more 100 days question.

TRUMP: That's fine.

AP: ... is do you think you have the right team in place for your next 100 days?

TRUMP: Yes. I think my team has been, well, I have different teams. I think my military team has been treated with great respect. As they should be. I think my other team hasn't been treated with the respect that they should get. We have some very talented people, and very diverse people.

AP: Do you mean your White House team when you say that?

TRUMP: Yeah, my White House team. I think Reince (Priebus) has been doing an excellent job. I think that, you know, this is a very tough environment not caused necessarily by me. Although the election has, you know, look, the Democrats had a tremendous opportunity because the electoral college, as I said, is so skewed to them. You start off by losing in New York and California, no matter who it is. If, if Abe Lincoln came back to life, he would lose New York and he would lose California. It's just the registration, there's nothing you can do. So you're losing the two biggest states, that's where you start. OK. The Electoral College is so skewed in favor of a Democrat that it's very, very hard. Look at Obama's number in the Electoral College. His numbers on the win were ... but the Electoral College numbers were massive. You lose New York, you lose Illinois. Illinois is impossible to win. And you look at, so now you lose New York, Illinois, no matter what you do, and California. Right. And you say, man. Now you have to win Florida, you have to win Ohio, you have to win North Carolina. You have to win all these states, and then I won Wisconsin and Michigan and all of these other places, but you remember there was no way to, there was no way to 270.

AP: Right.

TRUMP: So she had this massive advantage, she spent hundreds of millions of dollars more money than I spent. Hundreds of millions ... Yeah. Or more, actually because we were \$375 she was at \$2.2 billion. But whatever. She spent massive amounts of

money more and she lost. Solidly lost, because you know it wasn't 270, it was 306. So there's anger. But there was massive anger before I got there, so it's not easy for a White House staff to realize that you are going into a situation where you are going to be at no, where are going to get no votes. I mean, here's a judge who is No. 1 at Columbia, No. 1 at Harvard and an Oxford scholar. And he got three votes.

AP: Three Democratic votes, but yeah.

TRUMP: Three Democratic votes. OK. He's an Oxford scholar at the highest level. The No. 1, you know, one of the great academics, one of the great writers. No bad decisions with all ... nothing. He's like a ...

AP: Do you think that you can break through that? I mean this —

TRUMP: Yeah, I do.

AP: Is one of the biggest challenges for a president.

TRUMP: I think (I) can to an extent. But there's a, there's a basic hard-line core that you can't break though, OK, that you can't break through. There's a hard-line group you can't break through, you can't. It's sad. You can't. Look, I met with Congressman Cummings and I really liked him, a lot. Elijah Cummings (of Maryland). I really liked him a lot. And during the conversation because we have a very strong mutual feeling on drug prices. He came to see me, at my invitation, because I saw him talking about, he came to see me about drug prices because drug prices are ridiculous. And I am going to get them way, way, way down and he liked that. He said you will be the greatest president. He said you will be, in front of five, six people, he said you will be the greatest president in the history of this country.

AP: He disputed that slightly.

TRUMP: That's what he said. I mean, what can I tell you?

AP: Yeah.

TRUMP: There's six people sitting here. What did he, what, what do you mean by slightly?

AP: He said, he said that he felt like you could be a great president if and then —

TRUMP: Well he said, you'll be the greatest president in the history of, but you know what, I'll take that also, but that you could be. But he said, will be the greatest president but I would also accept the other. In other words, if you do your job, but I accept that. Then I watched him interviewed and it was like he never even was here. It's incredible. I watched him interviewed a week later and it's like he was never in my office. And you can even say that.

AP: And that's one of the difficulties I think presidents have had is that you can have these personal relationships with people from the other party, but then it's hard to actually change how people vote or change how people —

TRUMP: No I have, it's interesting, I have, seem to get very high ratings. I definitely. You know Chris Wallace had 9.2 million people, it's the highest in the history of the show. I have all the ratings for all those morning shows. When I go, they go double, triple. Chris Wallace, look back during the Army-Navy football game, I did his show that morning.

AP: I remember, right.

TRUMP: It had 9.2 million people. It's the highest they've ever had. On any, on air, (CBS "Face the Nation" host John)
Dickerson had 5.2 million people. It's the highest for "Face the Nation" or as I call it, "Deface the Nation." It's the highest for "Deface the Nation" since the World Trade Center. Since the World Trade Center came down. It's a tremendous advantage.

I have learned one thing, because I get treated very unfairly, that's what I call it, the fake media. And the fake media is not all of the media. You know they tried to say that the fake media was all the, no. The fake media is some of you. I could tell you who it is, 100 percent. Sometimes you're fake, but — but the fake

media is some of the media. It bears no relationship to the truth. It's not that Fox treats me well, it's that Fox is the most accurate.

AP: Do you believe that? That Fox —

TRUMP: I do. I get treated so badly. Yesterday, about the thing, you know when I said it's a terrorism ... it may be. I said it may be a terrorist attack and MSNBC, I heard, went crazy, "He called it a terrorist attack." They thought it was a bank robbery. By the way, I'm 10-0 for that. I've called every one of them. Every time they said I called it way too early and then it turns out I'm ... Whatever. Whatever. In the meantime, I'm here and they're not.

AP: Do you feel that one of the things with cable is there's such real-time reaction with everything you say?

TRUMP: Yeah.

AP: Can you separate that sometimes from that actual decision?

TRUMP: The one thing —

AP: That you have to do —

TRUMP: OK. The one thing I've learned to do that I never thought I had the ability to do. I don't watch CNN anymore.

AP: You just said you did.

TRUMP: No. No, I, if I'm passing it, what did I just say (inaudible)?

AP: You just said —

TRUMP: Where? Where?

AP: Two minutes ago.

TRUMP: No, they treat me so badly. No, I just said that. No, I, what'd I say, I stopped watching them. But I don't watch CNN anymore. I don't watch MSNBC. I don't watch it. Now I heard yesterday that MSNBC, you know, they tell me what's going on.

TRUMP: In fact, they also did. I never thought I had the ability to not watch. Like, people think I watch (MSNBC's) "Morning Joe." I don't watch "Morning Joe." I never thought I had the ability to, and who used to treat me great by the way, when I played the game. I never thought I had the ability to not watch what is unpleasant, if it's about me. Or pleasant. But when I see it's such false reporting and such bad reporting and false reporting that I've developed an ability that I never thought I had. I don't watch things that are unpleasant. I just don't watch them.

AP: And do you feel like that's, that's because of the office that you now occupy —

TRUMP: No.

AP: That you've made that change?

TRUMP: I don't know why it is, but I've developed that ability, and it's happened over the last, over the last year.

AP: That's interesting.

TRUMP: And I don't watch things that I know are going to be unpleasant. CNN has covered me unfairly and incorrectly and I don't watch them anymore. A lot of people don't watch them anymore, they're now in third place. But I've created something where people are watching ... but I don't watch CNN anymore. I don't watch MSNBC anymore. I don't watch things, and I never thought I had that ability. I always thought I'd watch.

AP: Sure.

TRUMP: I just don't. And that's taken place over the last year. And you know what that is, that's a great, it's a great thing because you leave, you leave for work in the morning you know, you're, you don't watch this total negativity. I never thought I'd be able to do that and for me, it's so easy to do now. Just don't watch.

AP: That's interesting.

TRUMP: Maybe it's because I'm here. I don't know.

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